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THE NEXT STEP IN NATIONAL EDUCATION

THE PROBLEM OF EDUCATION BETWEEN THE AGES OF 11 AND 16

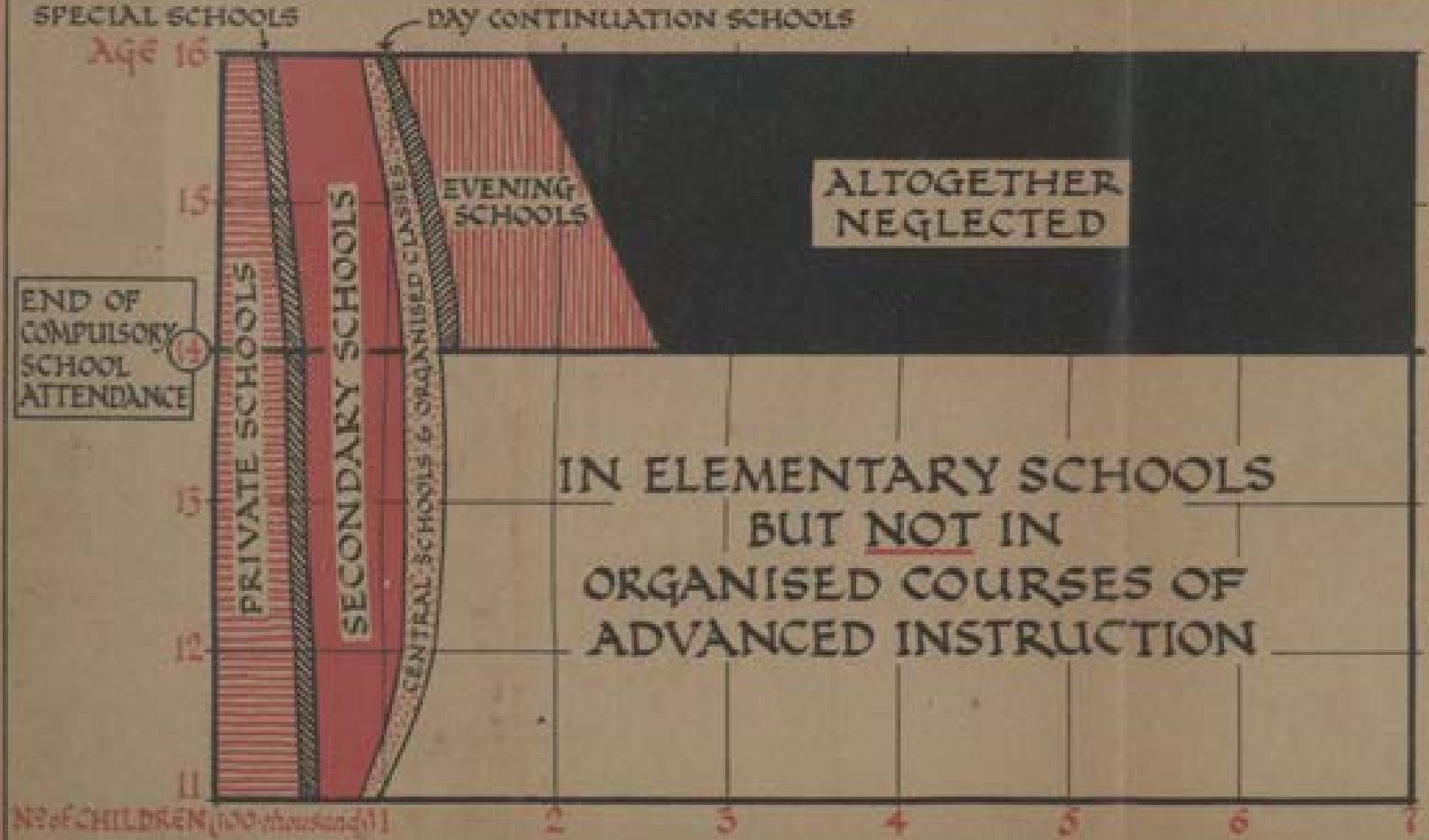

CHART SHOWING

I. The small transfer to Secondary & Central Schools about the age of 11

II. The transfer to Evening Classes and Day Continuation Schools about the age of 14

III The comparative neglect of children after the age of 14

The areas in this chart are accurately proportional to the number of pupils enjoying the various types of Education

THE NEXT STEP IN NATIONAL EDUCATION

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Being the Report of a Committee consisting of the following:

THE RT. HONBLE. THE VISCOUNT HALDANE, F.R.S., K.T., O.M., *President*
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PREFATORY NOTE

THE Committee responsible for this Report is not a Committee in any ordinary sense—it represents no party nor office ; nobody appointed it—it just foregathered. The Report, in fact, has grown out of a conviction—shared, we hope, with many others—which we happened to feel very strongly, that there is in this country a large number of persons really interested in public education who would be glad to have set out in a convenient form, and not at great length, the facts of the present situation, together with some account of the way in which those facts came to be what they are ; and that this will be useful to them whether they accept our conclusions or not. We believe that the facts lead to our conclusions ; in any case, the more the facts are known and studied by people of every sort of predilection, the more likely is the line of advance—and at least there can be few who do not believe in some line of advance—to be that which is best suited to the genius of the English nation. It will be obvious that we have been working largely over the ground covered by the Report of the Consultative Committee on the Education of the Adolescent, but though we desire to

express our admiration for the work of that Committee and for the policy commended by it, our survey has been made independently and was all but complete before the Consultative Committee's Report was published. We can only express our hope that the fruit of our labours will help to reinforce their conclusions.

We are grateful for much help of various kinds freely given in order to enable us to present as complete and accurate a picture as possible of the conditions with which we are concerned; in particular, we desire to express our great indebtedness to Mr. F. P. Armitage, Director of Education for Leicester; Mr. A. H. Whipple, Director of Education for Nottingham; Dr. F. H. Spencer, of the London County Council; Mr. J. Mackay Thomson, of the Scottish Education Office; Mr. Beresford Ingram, of the London Continuation Schools; and Mr. Hubert Secretan, of the Bermondsey Settlement. Each of these was good enough to come and explain to us some part of the educational system with which he was specially concerned, and we consider that the facts so gathered are among the most valuable that we have been able to present. None of them, of course, is accountable for any opinions that may have been based upon the facts.

R. F. CHOLMELEY,
Chairman of the Committee.

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THE NEXT STEP IN NATIONAL EDUCATION

PRINCIPLES OF REFORM

I. On the general question, it is suggested that, leaving aside for the moment administrative and financial difficulties, the following principles should be adopted:

(*a*) That education should be regarded in such a way as to make 11 normally the close of the primary or preparatory school course.

(*b*) That at about 11 all children should begin some type of post-primary course, to last, for all who will stay for five years, till 16, but to be so planned, to begin with, as to meet the needs of children leaving at 15.

(*c*) That whatever name be given to education over 11, the standards of staffing and equipment should not be lower than those demanded of existing secondary schools.

(*d*) That the curricula followed should vary with the needs of the country and the natural

bias of the children, but that it should always include large elements of practical work and handicraft.

(*e*) That it would be a great advantage if nomenclature and classification could be changed so as to make it clear that the word "secondary" referred not to a particular type of curriculum, but to education in school above the age of 11.

(*f*) That legislation should be passed, as recommended by the Consultative Committee, providing for the raising of the school age of compulsory attendance to 15 as from the beginning of the school year 1932.

(*g*) That a committee should be appointed to investigate the difficulties arising from the present division of powers between Part II and Part III authorities, and to make recommendations for their removal.

II. On the question of the kind of post-primary organisation that might be adopted it is suggested that :

(*a*) Ultimately 25 per cent. of all elementary school pupils should be transferred at 11 to secondary schools approximately of the present types.

(*b*) 50 per cent. of all elementary school pupils should be transferred at 11 to secondary schools of new types with varying curricula.

(*c*) In the allocation of pupils to different types of schools, an attempt should be made to estimate the kind rather than the quality of their ability.

(*d*) Transfer of pupils from one type of secondary school to another should be made as easy as possible.

(*e*) In the provision of accommodation for post-primary courses, an early enforcement of compulsory attendance to the age of 15 should be anticipated.

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTORY

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INTRODUCTORY

PUBLIC education in England has hitherto been divided for administrative purposes into three departments: Elementary, Secondary, and Technical. This classification has its roots deep in the history of educational development, and corresponds, in the main, with three distinct types of school. It is possible that it may remain a permanent feature of English educational organisation, and yet it is, in some respects, misleading. Even if these categories are retained, it seems inevitable that, as the whole of education comes to be regarded more and more as single in its aim and purpose, their boundaries and their relationships to one another must be redefined.

The object of this study is to assist towards that new definition by indicating where and why these boundaries overlap, and what administrative changes are necessary in order to lead to a more consistent and more scientific organisation. In fact, it is a plea for unity—for the establishment of that "national system of public education

available for all persons capable of profiting thereby" to which the latest of our Education Acts refers.

With so much evidence available as to the loss and wastage entailed when schooling is ended at 14, it is hardly necessary to argue that the nation should make more general provision for the years of adolescence. The failure to do this is admittedly an outstanding defect of our educational system. Although elementary schools are retaining a growing proportion of their pupils beyond the age of 14, although the secondary school population has been increasing, although technical and continuation schools are doing good work, and voluntary agencies, are as active as ever, it is still true that, after 14, the bulk of the child population is left to drift, to enter blind-alley and unskilled employment, to deteriorate intellectually and morally, and, ultimately, to swell the ranks of those whom it is difficult to employ at all. Much of the money spent on the education of children in elementary schools is wasted because, at the most impressionable age, there has been negligence in securing by further education the gains that the elementary school has won.

This is the most important social problem that confronts the nation to-day, for within it lies the solution of the question of individual efficiency

that alone will offer real help in other national troubles.

The movement of opinion, practice, and legislation has been in favour of gradually extending the control exercised by the nation over its children to a later and later age. The project, which is commended here, as the most likely to provide a permanently satisfactory solution, is the eventual continuation of compulsory full-time schooling till 16, together with the provision of proper facilities for training after that age. In the following pages reasons are given for adopting this view. But whether such measures are adopted or not, it must be recognised that there is already a tendency for more and more children to stay in schools of one type or another till a later and later age, and that this fact raises an administrative problem of great importance. It obliges us to reconsider what are usually understood as the boundaries of elementary and secondary education, which now overlap and intersect one another in a manner which makes efficient organisation difficult, if not impossible.

Again, if the desire for practical activities which most children exhibit at an early age is to be satisfied and developed, technical education must be brought into some orderly relation with elementary and secondary education. The threefold classification of schools—into elementary,

secondary, and technical institutions—has ceased to answer to the facts, and though administratively convenient, has become a hindrance to a proper conception of a complete system of education.

Names are important, for their use tends to fix the character of things. If the thing to which a name applies turns out to be, or changes into, something else, the name becomes irrelevant, and, if people go on using it, they confuse their minds. A glance at the distinction between the meaning attached to the names "elementary," "secondary," "technical," according as they are used as attributes of education or of schools, will illustrate the truth and the importance of this. Elementary education meant originally—and if words are worth anything, still means—education in the elements, the education proper to the earliest stage; but elementary schools include not only individual schools but whole types of schools carrying education up to and beyond the age of 15. Secondary education would naturally mean—and more naturally with the substitution of Primary for Elementary—the education of every sort which is proper to the next stage; but secondary schools, owing to causes of which the most important is the fact that the old grammar schools furnished to the new system a model and a foundation, include all those schools, and those

only, which, under or in general conformity with the secondary school regulations of the Board of Education, provide an education up to and beyond the age of 16 based on literature, languages, science, and mathematics ; and among these are counted not only preparatory departments, but even private preparatory schools. Technical education, as the name implies, has nothing to do with age, but covers the work of all sorts of schools and institutions based mainly upon technical instruction and leading to occupations of a technical character, from the junior technical school taking children at 13 to the technical institute which may approximate to university rank.

To an increasing extent elementary and secondary schools overlap, and may supply, so far as differences of equipment and staffing allow under different regulations, much the same type of education to pupils of the same age and similar capacity. Even in a single area such schools may be administered by different authorities, making the free movement of pupils or teachers between them unnecessarily difficult. Co-ordination, if not unification, is a matter of pressing moment, not only because of the misleading effect of the present nomenclature upon the public mind, but for administrative convenience. There are, however, considerable difficulties in

the way of a fresh classification, which can hardly be appreciated unless the historical genesis of the present position is examined in some detail.

In our next chapter, therefore, we examine briefly the historical background of English public education, through which alone the nature of the problem at present confronting the nation can be understood.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

(i) 1807–1902

(*a*) Elementary Education

So long ago as 1807 Samuel Whitbread introduced into the House of Commons a Bill for the Reform of the Poor Law which would have enabled every parish in the country to establish a school, but the general principle of the Bill was so opposed to the tendencies of the age that the Bill was rejected. At this time the only schools in which the State had an active interest were those established by cotton manufacturers, under Peel's Act of 1802, for the education of workhouse children who were employed as "apprentices" in their factories. In the main, the country depended, for education proper, upon the old-established grammar schools, unevenly distributed, and precariously financed by endowment. The only teaching open to the majority of children was given either in Sunday schools where they might learn to read the Bible, or in privately conducted dame's or master's schools, where for a pound or less a year they

might acquire the elements of reading and writing. At 7 years of age the majority of children were in active employment, which, at the time, might mean working for some sixteen hours a day.

Andrew Bell[1] (1753–1832) and Joseph Lancaster (1778–1838) were the pioneers of systematised education. They were connected respectively with the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society. The former, with the money, enthusiasm, and comprehensive parish organisation of the Church of England behind it, soon outstripped its rival, although each established its own centre for the training of teachers. The success of these voluntary ventures depended upon the use of Bell's "Madras" system of monitorial instruction, which reduced the number of adult teachers required and made education a relatively inexpensive process. A better way was indicated by Robert Owen in the remarkable schools which he established in 1813 in New Lanark, where none but experienced teachers were employed. His system was abolished by his partners in 1824.

In 1816 Brougham persuaded the House of

[1] Bell had been the first Superintendent of the Madras Orphanage for Eurasian boys; he came to England on his retirement and published an account of his system in 1797 (see Adamson, *Short History of Education*, Cambridge, 1919).

Commons to appoint a Select Committee to inquire into " the education of the lower orders," whose findings included the statement that only about one-sixteenth of the children of the country were being educated at all, and that no less than 3,500 parishes were without a school. In 1820 a Bill enabling parishes to establish schools under the control of the parish clergyman was rejected, mainly through the opposition of both the Church and the Dissenters.

The Reform Act of 1832 secured the political ascendancy of the middle classes, whose members were beginning to reflect on the danger of leaving the greater part of the nation in ignorance. The reply to petitions in favour of a general system of schools was Roebuck's motion, in 1833, in favour of universal and compulsory education and the establishment of a Ministry of Education. The motion was lost, but in the following August £20,000 was granted to the two voluntary societies in aid of building school-houses. With this grant came the claim to supervise the schools which were aided.

In 1839 a Committee of the Privy Council, with a grant of £30,000, was established. Its duty was to disburse funds, establish schools, and to exercise control over the growing system. It was the first official body to exercise any kind of central control over education. Dr. James

Philips-Kay (afterwards Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth) (1804–77), to whom more than to anyone else were due the advances made in the next thirty years, was its secretary. One of the recommendations of the committee was that grant-aided schools should be staffed by adult teachers in separate classrooms, a recommendation which struck a hard blow at the monitorial system, now generally recognised as dangerously ineffective.

Another suggestion was to establish " normal " schools for training, so that the supply of qualified teachers might be increased. Religious interests, as well as the House of Commons, for different reasons, opposed the suggestion, with the result that in 1840 Kay himself established a training college at Battersea. In 1842 £40,000 was set aside for teacher-training. Four years later saw the beginning of the apprenticeship, or pupil-teacher system and the establishment of Queen's Scholarships. In 1848 the committee held its first examination for the Certificate, and soon its " parchment " came to be the recognised qualification for the more responsible posts in elementary schools. By 1858 grants had increased to £663,000, and a year later the teaching corps numbered over 22,000.[1]

Development had already taken place in another direction. In 1836 the Board of Trade

[1] Adamson: *A Short History of Education*, p. 299.

had established a Normal School of Design. In 1852 this, and all other schools of art, were vested in a special department. A year later a Department of Science was added, but in 1856 these were transferred to the Education Department, under the Vice-President of Council, into which the Committee of Privy Council had been transformed.

Reformers were active everywhere. Several Bills for the alteration and extension of the educational system were introduced unsuccessfully into the House of Commons, but the most notable event was the extensive survey made in the years 1858–61 by a Royal Commission under the chairmanship of the Duke of Newcastle. Though the Commission could report considerable progress, it appeared that not only were many children in no school at all, but that an actual majority of those attending were in schools not assisted or effectively influenced by the State: 573,536 scholars were in private schools; 671,393 scholars were in denominational, ragged, or factory schools unassisted by grant; while 917,255 were in grant-aided schools, 85 per cent. of which were denominational. Few children were educated at all after the age of 11, and, generally, pupils attended for less than 100 days in the year. These facts help to account for both the atmosphere in which W. E. Forster's

Bill of 1870 was introduced and the conception of "elementary" education held at the time by its authors and by the Parliament that passed it into law.

The Elementary Education Act of 1870 ended the period of pure voluntaryism; it established the principle that in areas and parishes where the provision of education was inadequate or unsuitable schools might be set up and maintained entirely at the public expense. School Boards were instituted with power to levy a compulsory local rate not to exceed 3*d.* in the £ for educational purposes.[1] Compulsory attendance at these schools could be enforced if the School Board desired. Religious instruction, under a conscience clause, was permitted, but denominational teaching of all kinds was forbidden. Such was the new charter which arose partly out of the revelations of the Newcastle Commission, and partly from the passage of the Reform Act of 1867, which extended the franchise to working people. As in 1832, educational progress waited upon political emancipation.

A full measure of compulsion to attend was impossible until there were sufficient and suitable schools in most areas. By 1876 the situation

[1] In the event, a rate five or six times that amount was frequently levied, and one of half a crown in the pound was not unknown (Adamson, p. 311).

was so far improved that, under Lord Sandon's Act of that year, school attendance committees could be established where there was no School Board, and the employment of children under 10 for wages could be prohibited. Between 10 and 13 employment became conditional upon a certificate of proficiency in the elementary subjects, or of school attendance. Mundella's Act of 1880 compelled all School Boards and school attendance committees to enforce attendance up to the age of 10. In 1893 the age at which a child could claim partial exemption was raised to 11, in 1899 it was raised to 12, and in 1900 the authorities were given power to raise the age of compulsory attendance to 14.

A sequel to this expanding measure of compulsion was the abolition of school fees. In 1891 the Education Department took powers to enforce the provision of free schools in every area and to provide for the payment of a grant in lieu, or in diminution, of the fees hitherto paid in public elementary schools. The few remaining fees in elementary schools were finally abolished by the Act of 1918.

While the system was being applied universally in this way, and while the proportion of certificated teachers was increasing, it cannot be claimed that the methods of instruction conformed to the best ideals of education. In the popular

mind the first function of the school was to destroy illiteracy, and to attain a mechanical efficiency in the teaching of reading, writing, and arithmetic. The Newcastle Commission, in spite of Kay-Shuttleworth's protest, had recommended that the payment of grant should depend on the attainment of the individual scholar in these three subjects. This principle of "payment by results," as it was called, was incorporated in Robert Lowe's Revised Code of 1862. Subsequently, scholars in elementary schools were examined by Her Majesty's inspectors every year, and the prospects and position of the teacher became dependent to a large extent upon the results of this examination. Not only the curriculum, but the degree of attainment expected at every stage of school life, became standardised. Subjects other than the grant-earning ones were neglected, and there was every inducement for a teacher to imbue the pupils with a machine-like precision. The teaching profession always objected strongly to this diversion of its activities into unworthy channels, and, after the Cross Commission had reported against the system, it was allowed to lapse.

With the disappearance of payment by results the path to experiment was opened; the teacher became more free to devise new methods, and the schools assumed a wider outlook and exercised a

gentler discipline. For a quarter of a century the process of broadening and humanising has gone on, and has been assisted by the improved general education now given to the teachers themselves before they enter upon their work.

By the Board of Education Act of 1899 a new central authority was created. Both the Education Department and the Science and Art Department were merged in the new Board, which, in its essential structure, still retained traces of the older organisation from which it was formed. The Board was given the power of inspecting secondary schools, and ceased to be concerned exclusively with elementary education. At the same time, it assumed control of all endowments which had been allocated to educational purposes by the Charity Commissioners. By this development the sense of educational unity, which had been growing for some time, was fostered, and the way prepared for the considerable growth of secondary education under the influence and control of the State which marks the period since 1902. A strong central organisation was created, concerning itself with all forms of education, and destined, it may be hoped, in the near future to weld them into a logical and self-consistent whole.

(*b*) Technical Education

In the eighteenth century there was little science teaching even at the universities. A few chairs of "natural philosophy" had been established, but the tradition still lingered that scientific investigation was a part-time occupation for comparatively rich people. The scientist, from the time of Robert Boyle to the time of Charles Darwin, was largely self-educated so far as his particular subject was concerned.

John Anderson, Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, was perhaps the first man to realise the advantages of a scientific education, and the value of extending it widely. Anderson's Institution—afterwards known as the Royal Technical College, Glasgow—was founded under his will in 1796. Dr. Thomas Garnett was associated with this work, and was succeeded by Dr. George Birkbeck, the originator of those Mechanics' Institutes which until 1850 provided the only opportunity for the technical instruction, and indeed for the general adult education, of the "mechanical classes."

The awakening interest of manufacturers and professional men in scientific and other problems expressed itself in the formation of literary and philosophical societies from 1781 onwards. One such society in Manchester had the credit of

giving Robert Owen that interest in social and philosophical questions which occupied him throughout his life. The Liverpool Mechanics' Institute was started in 1825, and by 1850, largely owing to the work and influence of Lord Brougham, there were 600 such bodies in the country, doing invaluable work, but much hampered by the almost total lack of elementary education among their members.

National intervention in technical education was delayed till 1851, when, as a result of the great Exhibition of that year, £200,000 was devoted to science, the Royal School of Mines was founded, and the Science and Art Department came into existence. The object of the department was not to encourage the teaching of technical processes to artisans, nor to deal with particular trades and industries, but to develop schools of science and art which would provide the background of general education which is necessary to an intelligent understanding of industrial processes.

This may be said to be the characteristically British method of conducting technical education, and only recently in one or two particulars has it been modified. For long periods schools were tolerated rather than assisted by employers because they had not grown out of the industries themselves, and their work has been looked

upon as a casual supplement to apprenticeship and other recognised methods of initiating the young worker. Yet instruction in pure science is a necessary preliminary to any technical training, and, so far as it supplies this instruction, the British system is an admirable one. But the schools have sometimes failed to complete the education they have commenced, and have not always stimulated that insight into the principles underlying technical processes which many employers are neither able nor willing to give. Technical education and industry have had still too often, though less than formerly, little organic relation with one another, and this source of weakness may be traced partly to the nineteenth-century distrust of State action and partly to the deliberate policy of the Science and Art Department from 1852 onward.

The first schools established by the department were in general unsuccessful, and in 1859 there were only four classes, with 395 students. Evening classes were therefore developed as a practical alternative, and no further attempt was made to introduce day schools with a technical bias until 1872, when, as we shall see, organised science schools giving education of an elementary type appear, largely as a result of evening school experience.[1]

[1] These schools were remodelled in 1895, were given the

This department, as a matter of deliberate policy, had left specifically industrial education to those who controlled industry, and, as a result, although apprenticeship was rapidly decaying, and the need for industrial training was great, very little was done. In 1873 the Society of Arts began to work in this unoccupied field, but in 1879 resigned its claims in favour of the institute established at Finsbury by the City and Guilds of London. Around this institute and the certificates it issued the prospects of technical education proper continued to centre.

The hopes aroused by the Great Exhibition had been almost completely disappointed. Owing to her traditional distrust of State interference Britain had now fallen in this matter far behind her principal foreign competitors. The extent of the ground lost was amply revealed by the Royal Commission on Technical Education, 1881–2, the first-fruits of the technical instruction movement. Its report drew public attention to the grave situation that had arisen; the claims of technical education began to be taken seriously, and it seemed natural that, by the City Parochial Charities Act, 1883, the secular funds of charities in 107 London parishes, providing an

status of Schools of Science in 1897, and continued until the department was merged in the Board of Education. After 1902 they became part of the secondary school system.

income of £50,000 a year, should be diverted largely to forwarding it. In the twenty years that followed over £700,000 was granted to various metropolitan polytechnics.

In 1889 the first Technical Instruction Act was passed, and local authorities were given power to maintain schools and to raise a penny rate for the purpose. For the first time a form of public education was entrusted to the county and borough councils (as distinct from the School Boards); and this gave them the opportunity to prove their fitness to assume control over other forms of education which they acquired in 1902. The Act led to a definite reinforcement of a provision which had hitherto been voluntary, but it failed to provide what was really needed, an adequate and comprehensive system of day technical instruction, serving all industries, and available to all students who were capable of profiting by it.

The Act of 1889 was effective only in London and certain county boroughs, but even here the few technical schools which were established suffered from four serious defects:

1. Like the science schools, they had no organic relation with industry.

2. A large proportion of the classes were conducted in the evening.

3. There was a break of at least two years

between leaving the elementary school and entering the technical school.

4. Elementary and technical education were not only under different departments of State, but were administered locally by different bodies.

The last-named reason in particular prevented any real contact between the two types of schools, and when it was overcome the old tradition of isolation seems to have persisted. There was, further, no relation with the departments of applied science or technology that were springing up in the various universities. This isolation of the technical school from the institutions which naturally precede and follow it is a main cause of its inadequate development.

The Monotechnic devoting itself to a particular industry, so strongly developed on the Continent, was not altogether neglected in this country. The London School of Photo-Engraving and Lithography, the Central School of Arts and Crafts, Shoreditch Technical Institute (Cabinet-making, etc.), the London School of Building, the London School of Engineering and Navigation, are evidences of activity. A school of Waiting and Cooking, and one for young butchers—the former at Westminster and the latter at Smithfield Market—came into being; but the provision in many industries throughout the country is still too largely neglected.

One unforeseen result of the Technical Instruction Act was the impetus given to secondary education of a modern type. Up to this time the State had concerned itself mainly with elementary education. With the advent of maintained technical schools it was felt that a number of pupils should be deliberately prepared so that they might ultimately take advantage of the relatively advanced instruction in science which was now available. Many institutes were only used in the evening, and the premises and equipment were therefore available for the purposes of a day school. Naturally, these day schools were administered by the authority for technical education, and the curriculum had a preponderatingly scientific bias. They were recognised as organised science schools. Some of the older endowed schools also developed into science schools within the meaning of the Act, and thus qualified themselves to receive grant.

This was the beginning of State-aided secondary education in this country, and it is significant that the local administrative bodies were the county and borough councils which, in 1902, were made responsible for all subsequent developments in a wider field.

(*c*) Evening Schools

No account of English education would be

complete which did not recognise the large place that evening classes have occupied in it, and the fact that for many years they supplied the only provision for the continued instruction of pupils who had left the elementary schools at 14 or earlier.

For some time the evening school was a device intended mainly to supplement the deficiencies of elementary education. At first under private, and then to an increasing extent under national auspices, it taught the simple rudiments to those who had had no other opportunity of acquiring them. It was used by people of all ages. In a sense, the mechanics' institutes themselves were a specialised type of evening school, and, just as technical education sprang from these, so also other forms of adult education have been differentiated. Before the coming of a general system of elementary instruction the night school, together with the Sunday school, provided the usual means by which some touch of literary education was brought within the reach of the working classes.

Night schools for the elementary education of children and adults were known from the middle of the eighteenth century. Invariably they were conducted privately or by religious bodies. In 1844 the Ragged School Movement was initiated for those who were excluded from the regular

Sunday or day school in consequence of their ragged or filthy condition. By 1848 there were 82 ragged schools, with 17,249 pupils.

In 1851 grants were first given to evening schools attached to day schools, and teachers in day departments were encouraged to give part of their time to evening work. In 1853 evening schools independent of day schools were grant-aided. The Revised Code of 1862 recognised evening schools as continuative of elementary day instruction and introduced "payment by results." The number of pupils rose in 1870 to 83,457, but now the coming of universal elementary education began to make evening work of the same type increasingly unnecessary. The numbers began to decrease, the amount of grant payable was made proportionate to the aggregate number of student hours, and no student was compelled to take elementary subjects. The School Boards supplemented the grants by rate-aid, and it was this part of the expenditure on this object and on certain others that was declared illegal by the Cockerton judgment of 1900, on the ground that it was educating "children" on lines not provided for in the Code. Apparently the only advanced instruction that could be legally given in the evening was that provided by county councils under the Technical Instruction Act. Legislation was necessary, and a short

Act in 1901 enabled the School Boards to carry on pending the final settlement of the difficulty that had arisen.

In 1902 the number of evening schools recognised by the Board was 5,624, and they were attended at different times by 657,594 students. Of these students 147,191 were between 12 and 15 years of age and 348,353 between 15 and 21.

Under the Act of 1902 evening classes became a definite part of the provision for higher education—a change which encouraged differentiation and development, but which, perhaps, discouraged the giving of purely elementary teaching in such classes. The Act served finally to extinguish the old distinction and rivalry between the classes controlled formerly by the Science and Art and the Education Departments, and placed them all under the same administration.

(*d*) Secondary Education

In the Middle Ages a widely developed system of popular schools arose from the religious fervour of the Church. The monastic and chantry schools were largely destroyed by the spoliation of Henry VIII, but certain of them were re-established by Edward VI on an independent basis, and ascribed to his foundation. It is interesting to notice that the management of these re-established schools was generally vested

in the corporation of a town where this was possible. Meanwhile, nobles and, later, burgesses or guilds, had given considerable endowments for the education of poor scholars in certain townships, and the total mediæval endowment was quite large. It was in accord with the religious ideas of the period that there should be a common school for the able and assiduous children of all classes, and that a special concern should be shown for the education of the talented poor. "There was no institution which did so much to aid the humbler classes to rise in the social scale."[1]

The monasteries were chiefly interested in the training of novices; the schools connected with cathedrals, collegiate churches (such as those of Winchester and Eton), charities, guilds, and hospitals, educated also the lawyer, the doctor, and even the merchant, but all under the control of the Church. The basis of the education was Latin, because Latin of a kind was necessary not only for theologians but also for almost every sort of professional or official career; and it was through these schools that the poor boy got his chance in one of those careers, while the sons of the court and castle got their education through the traditions and practice of chivalry.

[1] Foster Watson, *The Old Grammar Schools* (Cambridge Manuals, 1916), p. 49.

This must not be taken as a hard and fast distinction; the statutes of both Winchester and Eton provided for the education, along with the "poor and indigent," of a limited number of sons of "notable and influential" persons who were to pay for their own board and lodging, but get their teaching free; and this combination was not uncommon; but the principle of the Church was expressed by Cranmer in words that deserve to be remembered: "If the gentleman's son be apt to learning, let him be admitted; if not, let the poor man's child, that is apt, enter his room."

The total number of grammar schools existing before the Reformation has been estimated at 300; many of them were very small, but they were probably educating at least 1,500 poor boys and providing in one way or another for their maintenance.

By the end of the Middle Ages, as Dr. Leach has shown in his valuable books, *The Schools of Mediæval England* and *English Schools at the Reformation*, a widely developed system of education had come into existence. "The contrast," he writes (*The Schools of Mediæval England*, p. 331), "between one grammar school to every 5,625 people, and that presented by the Schools Inquiry Commission, 1864, of one to every 23,750 people, and even to the enlarged pro-

vision of the present day, is not to the disadvantage of our pre-Reformation ancestors." Then came the confiscation of large numbers of educational endowments under Edward VI, and the diminution in the educational provision for the middle and poorer classes lamented by Latimer.

As the result partly of these developments, partly of social changes, many endowed schools tended to attract large numbers of the children of the well-to-do people, and to exclude those poor scholars of ability for whose use many of them were largely intended. Nevertheless, under Puritan influence, but still inspired by the spirit of the Renaissance, they produced many remarkable scholars and literary men. Indeed, the seventeenth century was the golden age of the grammar schools; they stood for a humanism open to all; it was their disaster that whatever theological party was dominant saw their value and was determined to control them. Before the end of the century decay had set in.

Under the Hanoverians the growth of a rich class of landowners, who monopolised the government and diverted even part of the endowments of the universities to their own purposes, led to the supremacy of seven of the old foundations (Winchester, Eton, Westminster, Rugby, Harrow, Shrewsbury, and Charterhouse), which had

become in the main the schools of the sons of the comparatively well to do. These seven schools have maintained a specially privileged position. They were the subject of a Royal Commission in 1864 which revealed that of their 2,696 pupils between the ages of 8 and 19, about one-third went to the universities, that the curriculum was almost entirely classical, and that the attainment of the pupils was small. Their government was reorganised by the Public Schools Act of 1869, and in consequence they were exempted from the provisions of the Endowed Schools Act of the following year, which enforced on other foundations some regard for the original intentions of those who endowed them, and their trusts have in no way been subject to the supervision or control of the Board of Education. The Endowed Schools Act of 1869 laid down that provision was to be made "as far as conveniently may be for extending to girls the benefit of endowments."

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the endowed schools generally had fallen lamentably low. Endowments had been perverted to the use of the governing body, or of the head masters, many of whom considered it unnecessary to teach. At Shrewsbury it was reported in 1797 that "Atcherley did nothing." It is true that he had only three or four boys to do any-

thing with. Yet it was from Shrewsbury that the revival came.

In 1798 this school was the subject of a special Act which preserved to the burgesses of the town a right to free education for their children. Samuel Butler became head master, and under his regime the school rose from 20 to 300 pupils. In the years that followed old boys of Shrewsbury became head masters of Repton, Uppingham, Durham, Stamford, Coventry, Bridgnorth, Chester, Derby, Wimborne, and even of Shrewsbury itself. Butler was the first of the great public schoolmasters, but it must be noted that it was public intervention that gave him his opportunity and that, in his school, the rights of poor townsfolk were safeguarded.

Thomas Arnold, appointed head master of Rugby 1828, though in much of what he did he was anticipated by Butler, is credited with determining the tone and spirit which have since distinguished the public schools, and to have allowed that emphasis on sport as a medium of education which has seemed a distinctively English contribution to educational theory, but which in its effect is a reversion to the Greek ideal of physical beauty and well-being.

Arnold was essentially a moral reformer; the greatest educational organiser among the nineteenth-century head masters were Edward Thring

(Uppingham, 1853–87) and F. W. Walker (Manchester Grammar School, 1859–76). Thring made Uppingham not only a great school but a model for all schools on two principles,—That every boy, whether clever or stupid, must have his chance, and that education could not be effective without proper equipment. To Walker belongs above all the credit of reviving the belief, rather out of favour with the followers of Arnold, that the training of the intellect was essential to the formation of character.

There were 500 grammar schools in 1819, many of them much impoverished and enfeebled. Besides these, and owing mainly to the limitations imposed on their work by ecclesiastical control, there had sprung up since the beginning of the eighteenth century a large number of private schools, mostly of Nonconformist origin, aiming at an education that was at once more practical as a preparation for business and more liberal than the grammar schools could give. In the first forty years of the nineteenth century this number was considerably increased, and some of the private schools were pioneers in both theory and practice; but the movement was essentially a middle-class movement, and tended to emphasise the stratification of English society which arose from the inequalities of rank that

followed upon the agricultural changes, and the differences of wealth caused by the industrial revolution. Now that democratic feeling is stronger than ever before, we cannot believe that these educational distinctions will be long sustained. In all probability they will succumb to the economic and political changes which are even now preparing before the eyes of the nation.

The Endowed Schools Act of 1869 gave the grammar schools a new lease of life and preserved some at least of the legacy of the past for public use. Since that time these schools have been widely utilised by the middle and commercial classes, and many of them, while retaining their own management, have become an integral part of the State system of education. Some with an ample endowment, or developed by exceptional head masters, have approximated in type to the greater public schools. Others fell on evil times and were saved from extinction by the coming of State aid. At no time have they been adequate to the national demand for secondary education, and their geographical distribution bore no relation to the distribution of population at the end of the nineteenth century; nor did they, even after the reorganisation, supply in any adequate way the need for the secondary education of girls, which was largely left to private

effort, such as that of the Girls' Public Day School Company (foundation 1872).

The Schools Inquiry Commission of 1864 recommended that the endowed schools should be supplemented by provided secondary schools, but nothing was done and the situation was allowed to drift. The extent of the chaos that followed, and the low standard of efficiency in many schools, was fully revealed by the Report in 1894 of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education over which Lord Bryce presided. The question it set itself to answer was : " How can the sporadically created and unorganised secondary education of England be organised into an efficient and satisfactory system ? "

In the light of the Bryce Report, the country prepared to adopt the advice Matthew Arnold had given it thirty years before, and to organise its secondary education. The legislation of 1902 gave county and borough councils the right to establish and maintain secondary schools, secured grant-aid to the needy grammar schools in return for a large measure of public control, and brought the science schools[1] definitely into the secondary system. Unfortunately, it did little to bring the elementary and secondary schools organically into contact. The present problem is to secure that the two shall be no longer disparate but that they

[1] *Vide supra*, p. 30.

shall run conjointly with one aim—the effective education of all children according to the kind of ability they happen to possess.

The Education Act of 1902

The effect of the legislation of 1902, which was applied to London in the following year, upon the various types of educational provision with which we have been dealing was far-reaching. The results which accrued from the decision to associate education generally with the normal machinery of local government cannot be over-estimated. Up to 1902 the local authorities established by the Act of 1888 had aided technical education to a limited extent out of the rates, and had been assisted in this work by the grant of "Whiskey Money," the residue of certain custom and excise duties which was paid to them irrespective of their educational expenditure, and which they might use if they wished to relieve the rates. Under the new Education Act, the first placed on the statute book with that comprehensive title, School Boards were abolished, and local authorities, large and small, were invested with complete control over elementary secular instruction in their areas, and placed under legal obligation to supply it. Further, the county council and county boroughs were given power to aid, not only technical, but all

forms of higher education, and it was expressly laid down that the "Whiskey Money" must in future be devoted exclusively to that purpose. This provision made possible, but not obligatory, the establishment of "maintained" secondary schools, that is to say, secondary schools supported exclusively by public money, an innovation important in the highest degree.

Of the authorities that thus acquired power to establish secondary schools, the councils of County Boroughs were also in control of elementary education, and were thus in a position to co-ordinate the two phases of their work. Unfortunately, that was only partly true of those County Councils, for the Act withheld from them the control of elementary education in the borough and urban districts within their boundaries, which had returned a population of more than 20,000 at the census of 1901. Thus, while higher education was unified for the first time throughout their areas, elementary education might be under the direction of a large number of relatively small authorities.

To this extent the Act failed to provide a unified administration for all forms of education in single areas, and a handicap to co-ordinated effort was established that persists to the present day. Authorities controlling higher education are usually known as Part II authorities; those

controlling elementary education only as Part III authorities.[1] The problem created by those overlapping administrative units is more fully discussed on page 195.

Nor did the Act produce complete unity within the elementary system. The buildings erected by School Boards became the property of the local authority, but those erected by voluntary agencies, heavily assisted as they had been in earlier years by government subvention, remained the property of the school managers, who continued to be responsible for maintaining them. Fair wear and tear within the classroom might be supplied by the local authority, but the renewal of playgrounds and major alterations in the buildings were still left to the hazard of voluntary contribution. Even to-day a general transfer of the ownership of elementary school buildings to the local authority seems impossible, though individual schools have been transferred more willingly as the problem of repair has become urgent and religious differences have grown less acute.

[1] The Act of 1902 was divided into four parts:

Part I deals with the constitution of the local authority.

Part II deals with higher education.

Part III deals with elementary education.

Part IV deals with the appointment of education committees, levying of rates, amalgamation and co-operation of councils, and certain spending powers.

An even more serious anomaly arises in the perpetuation of denominational management. The control of the local authority within the non-provided school extends only to the secular instruction. The religious teaching maintains its sectarian character and is directed by the school managers. The principal aim of the original benefactors of the school is thus secured, and those pupils whose parents do not hold the tenets of the denomination in question are allowed to absent themselves from the religious instruction. Unfortunately, in order that religious teaching of the right type may be secured, the managers retain the right to appoint teachers, subject to the approval of the local authority, which must not be withheld except on educational grounds. This means that in most non-provided [1] schools a religious test is still a condition of appointment, and to this extent the free utilisation of teaching ability within the schools of the country is impeded.

The existence of this "dual system" of management, as it is called, creates difficulties to-day whenever a considerable transfer of pupils to schools of a higher type but of different religious outlook is contemplated, and here, again, is proving a hindrance to educational progress. Nevertheless, the duality within the elementary

[1] I.e. denominational schools.

system is far less pronounced than it was before the passing of the Act of 1902. The greatest positive achievement of that measure was to bring all secular instruction under the control of local administrative bodies.

Its indirect effect upon the central administration was hardly less significant. Formerly, the Board of Education had supervised 2,568 School Boards, and 14,238 bodies of managers.[1] Now its attention was directed to 318 local authorities. Instead of concentrating, as before, on the individual school, and even, as under "payment by results," upon the individual pupil, the Board came to rely on the method of recommendation to the area authority. It is noteworthy that while the Board previously had power to replace an incompetent School Board, the Act contained no provision for the replacement of a local education authority. The principle of local freedom was considerably strengthened, and the area rather than the school became imperceptibly the unit of survey.

(ii) 1902–25

(*a*) Elementary Education

"Higher grade" elementary schools had already become established before 1894. They represented meagre attempts to establish "advanced instruction" beyond the seventh standard, but they suffered from the fact that they were still

[1] See Board of Education, Sir L. Amherst Selby-Bigge.

elementary schools though they gave instruction of a secondary type. The Commission on Secondary Education which reported in 1895 recommended that they should be treated as secondary schools and placed under the authority administering secondary education. The idea was that co-ordination and co-operation, rather than competition, should be established between them and the existing secondary schools. In 1898 the Board of Education actuallyd issue a memorandum setting out what, in its view, were the relations of primary and secondary schools in any really national system.

Then, in 1901, came the "Cockerton" judgment, to which reference has already been made. By this judgment it was affirmed that the London School Board had spent rates illegally because it was providing education for which no provision had been made in the Code. This had the effect eventually of terminating the higher grade schools and of interfering adversely with the work of the evening schools. The Board immediately met this situation by sanctioning the new higher elementary schools which were to provide a four-years' course for suitable children between the ages of 10 and 15. For various reasons, among them the failure, and perhaps the unwillingness, to face the whole problem of the future of the elementary school, these schools

never really succeeded in developing in large numbers. These, together with the old higher grade schools, and the centres which had been established for pupil teachers, gradually became absorbed into the secondary school system. They marked the beginning of the acceptance of municipal responsibility for secondary education which is so striking a feature of modern educational arrangements.

The next step in the development of elementary education was the establishment of the central school somewhere about 1911. Of the actual administration of central schools more will be said elsewhere in this report; it is sufficient to say here that their original intention was to provide instruction that would enable pupils to enter commerce or industry without specialised training. It was not vocational, though practical, instruction that was contemplated. The growth of the central school marks an important stage in the progress of elementary education; it was consolidated by Section 2 of the Act of 1918 which specifically enjoins local authorities to use their powers to this end, and to make the instruction given in these schools as practical as possible. Under this arrangement London alone has now 71 central schools and departments.

The Act of 1918, re-enacted in the Education Act of 1921, is the present high-water mark of

all forms of both elementary and secondary education ; it remains the charter of a full and free education for the children of the elementary schools. Part II and Part III authorities, through the managers of their schools, or by direct means, began now to accept their responsibilities for the nomination of teachers, and equally in the case of provided and non-provided schools for the upkeep of the buildings. The various changes made in the Code since the time of Lowe onwards, and the improvement in the machinery for the training of teachers, reflected not only the policy of the Board but led to a great improvement in the quality of elementary education.

The continued tendency was for elementary education to expand upwards. Reference has already been made to the establishment of higher grade, higher elementary, and central schools Central classes, higher tops, and senior schools were also coming into being. The Act of 1918 consolidated these developments, and urged on local authorities the necessity of further arrangements for advanced instruction in elementary schools by initiating special measures for educating children over the age of 11. It raised the school leaving to the end of the term in which a child becomes 14, and empowered local authorities to make by-laws raising the leaving age to 15. It also instituted an elaborate scheme of

compulsory part-time continued education. Although several provisions of the Act are not yet operative, mainly for reasons of national economy, the possibility of advance which it offers is very great and accords with the advance of educational opinion which through half a century has been slowly but surely gaining ground.

(*b*) Technical Education

Full-time day trade schools date from the year 1900. An example of these schools in London is the trade school for furniture and cabinet-making at the Shoreditch Technical Institute, where a three-years' course is provided. This was the precursor of other similar schools and classes referred to on pp. 29, 93. The object of these schools was, in the main, to provide advanced instruction in the later years of the elementary period and even up to 16, and to enable pupils to enter workshop life with a fair prospect of becoming skilled workers. Emphasis was laid on handicraft and science. These trade schools were dealt with under evening schools regulations.

In 1913 a further step was taken in the establishment of junior technical schools, which provided courses for two or three years for boys and girls after leaving the elementary school. It was a required condition that there should be a definite preparation for industrial employment

at about 16 years of age. It was also suggested that connected with them there should be advisory bodies containing representatives of employers and employees in the occupations catered for by the individual schools in order that each school should come into close contact with the industry to which it related.

But development along these lines has not been rapid or extensive. The figures for students attending technical instruction courses, courses in art, junior technical schools, day technical classes for 1923–4 and 1924–5, viz. 78,391 and 82,146 respectively, amply illustrate this.

(*c*) Secondary Education

Generally speaking, after 1902 the pupil teacher centres (though not all of them) and the higher grade and higher elementary schools became municipal secondary or municipal central schools, though some of the higher elementary schools survived till 1917. This change brought a new element from the elementary sphere into that which had up till now been occupied almost unchallenged by the older type of secondary school. The new development was due to the fact that Part II authorities began to take stock of the situation and formulate plans for greater co-ordination of higher education. It is interesting to note that the inadequacy of the provision

for girls began to be seriously considered. The regulations for secondary schools for 1905–6 did much to consolidate opinion by defining secondary schools (for the first time) as those which offered to each of their scholars up to and beyond the age of 16 a general education, physical, mental, and moral, given through a complete graded course of instruction of wider scope and higher standard than that given in elementary schools. The course was to last at least four years and the subjects were clearly defined.

Further regulations in 1907 made definite rules relating to grant, and to the representation of local authorities on boards of governors, and stipulated that at least 25 per cent. of places in any grant-aided secondary school should be free. In these ways the secondary schools became strengthened by opening the door of opportunity more widely, by breaking down class-barriers, and standardising progressively the age of entry. By 1900 it is estimated that 5,500 pupils were assisted by scholarships and free places, and ten years later the number had risen to 50,146. During the Great War the demand for education rose steadily, as a result in great measure of the large wages earned by those who remained at home, but owing to economic pressure exemplified in the rising costs of building and the need for national economy, expansion was checked,

free places were limited, and fees increased. In 1924, during the life of the Labour Government, there was a temporary advance in the number of free places to 40 per cent., which has not been entirely lost, while already some authorities had entirely abolished fees. During the last year, however, the hopes of a rapid development have been disappointed: the provision of secondary education is still sadly inadequate.

In 1925–6 the number of Free Place pupils under the Regulations was 134,177, 36·5 per cent. of the total numbers in schools on the Grant List. (B. of E. Educational Pamphlet No. 50, Recent Development of Secondary Education in England and Wales—a most admirable survey.)

CHAPTER III

THE DIMENSIONS OF THE PROBLEM

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THE DIMENSIONS OF THE PROBLEM

This chapter will deal primarily with children between the ages of 11 and 16, and statistical inquiry about these involves two methods of approach. It is necessary to consider what they are doing at any one time, which of them are being educated, and in what type of school. This may be called, in the words of the Consultative Committee's Report on "The Education of the Adolescent," the static survey. It will then be necessary to follow their movement during those years from school to school, and out into the world of work. This dynamic survey is the complement to the static one.

The Static Survey

From Table I it will be seen that the number of children to be dealt with is 3,562,402. Of these there are in :

	Per cent.
Elementary schools	55·8
Secondary schools	7·4
Special schools	0·7

TABLE I

The Distribution of School Population, England and Wales, 1924–5

Age.	Estimated Population, 1925.	Elementary School.	Secondary School.	Special Schools.	Junior Technical.	Day Continuation.	Part-time Technical.	Unaccounted for.
11–12 . .	716,742	638,045	28,617	5,535	98	—	176	46,271
12–13 . .	713,398	604,887	54,807	6,068	1,232	—	622	45,782
13–14 . .	703,172	581,416	63,156	5,840	4,036	—	13,826	47,724 approx.
14–15 . .	708,303	154,483	62,947	4,164	4,297	18,315	114,384	348,000 approx.
15–16 . .	720,787	10,093	55,450	3,040	2,074	(14–16)	87,139	565,000 approx.
Totals . .	3,562,402	1,988,924	264,977	24,647	11,737	18,315	216,147	1,010,000 approx.

See Statistics of Education, 1924-5.

	Per cent.
Junior technical schools	0·33
Day continuation schools . . .	0·5
Part-time technical schools (less than) .	6·0
Not associated with the national system (more than)	29·2

The last figure gives some idea of the size of the problem that confronts us.

It is fair to assume that until the age of 14 is reached most of those who appear in the last column will be attending some school or other, 62,067 (ages not specified) were attending secondary and preparatory schools certified efficient by the Board of Education, though not on the Grant List.

A further study of the table will disclose that about 45,000 is the maximum number of pupils in each age-group attending private schools outside the national system. It is possible, therefore, that some 225,000 children, between the ages of 11 and 16, are educated in this way—about 6·3 per cent. of the total number in these age-groups. The remaining 22·9 per cent. are completely neglected.

After this deduction has been made we see that about 300,000 children aged 14–15 and 520,000 between 15–16, representing 42 and 72 per cent. of their age-group, fail to obtain even part-time education.

If we add to them the number who follow only technical or ordinary evening continuation courses, which are comparatively ineffective for the purpose of this report, we get even more startling figures. It appears that about 415,000 children aged 14–15 and 607,000 aged 15–16, representing 59 and 84 per cent. of their age-group, are definitely outside the day school.

In 1921–2 the position was not quite so desperate, for a system of compulsory day continuation schools was then operating, and 91,195 pupils, mostly between the ages of 14 and 15, were attending them. Since compulsion has been dropped, only 18,315 pupils attend voluntary day continuation schools—a number so small that the grand total of neglected children given above is hardly affected by it. If then the school age is raised to 16, it will be necessary to educate over 1,000,000 pupils additionally.

The second problem of importance is to supply better educational facilities for the 2,000,000 children between the ages of 11 and 16 who are now in elementary schools. An uncertain, but rapidly growing, proportion of these are already in central schools or departments which provide in the main a three-year or a four-year course, and are equipped to some extent with those

conveniences for practical work indispensable to the proper education of pupils of this age. An accurate estimate of the extent of central school development is very important to our inquiry. Central schools and departments giving advanced instruction vary very much in type, in their method of recruitment, in the length of the course pursued, and in adequacy of equipment, and up to this year no statistics of them have been available.

An important appendix to the recent Report of the Consultative Committee throws a fuller light on the present position. Apparently in 1925 the number of L.E.A.s which had organised such departments was 158, rather less than half the full number of authorities. The total number of departments was 682, an average of less than five for each authority. The total number of pupils was 107,565, which is 5·3 per cent. of all elementary school pupils over 11. Of the organised courses 332 were designed to cover four years or more, 277 to cover three years, and 61 for shorter periods. The extent of the provision varied in different districts. London, with a heavy development of central schools, made perhaps at the sacrifice of proper secondary provision, claimed that in 8·3 per cent. of all its elementary school pupils over 11 were in such schools. The average for the urban areas gene-

rally was 6·7 per cent., and for the rural areas only 2·6 per cent.[1]

Excluding these pupils from our survey, we have to make improved arrangements for the teaching of about 1,881,000 elementary school pupils.

The question arises as to the age at which pupils leave the various types of elementary school. Before the passing of the Act of 1918 partial exemption from attendance was allowed as early as 11 years of age for those employed in agriculture, and over 20,000 pupils were always exempted from 12 onwards. During the war this number tended to diminish, but there was a corresponding increase in the number partially exempted at 13. The net effect was that the total of the partial exemptions tended to remain constant at between 32,000 and 35,000. By the Act of 1918 full-time attendance became compulsory until the end of the school term in which the pupil reached the age of 14, but without prejudice to the exemptions already granted. By 1922–3 the system of half-time had almost disappeared. We may assume that no exemption at all before the age of 14 is now permitted.

The figures show clearly that the great decline in the number of partial exemptions occurred in the year 1921–2. The cessation of exemptions

[1] *The Education of the Adolescent*, Table III, and p. 49.

has important statistical consequences. Whereas the general age of leaving was 14 precisely, it is now 14 plus, and this slightly increases the number on the registers aged 14–15. But the effect is very slight because the age figures refer, not to any given date, but to the average week throughout the school year. We find that the number of pupils in the age-group 14–15 has increased since the war, and has risen steadily since 1919–20, and the ending of partial exemption seems to have affected this process very little. This increasing tendency for elementary school pupils to remain at school after the age of 14 is most significant and is worthy of careful study.

The following table gives the number of pupils in age-groups above 14 for two pre-war and six post-war years.

TABLE II

ELEMENTARY AND SPECIAL SCHOOL PUPILS IN CERTAIN AGE-GROUPS. ENGLAND AND WALES

Year.	10 and 11 for comparison.	14–15.	15–16.	16–17.	Over 17.	Total over 14.
1912–13 .	674,745	42,249	5,563	229	45	48,077
1913–14 .	672,818	41,229	5,587	196	54	47,066
1919–20 .	663,836	115,912	8,521	769	90	125,292
1920–1 .	657,952	123,158	9,940	1,167	112	131,377
1921–2 .	651,336	146,256	12,037	1,368	110	160,371
1922–3 .	654,637	154,845	13,230	1,480	119	169,680
1923–4 .	658,950	162,715	13,046	1,663	152	177,576
1924 5 .	658,707	158,731	13,152	1,732	129	173,744

In the twelve years shown above the number in the 14–15 age-group has increased by 275 per cent., and the number in the 15–16 age-group by 136 per cent.

The last year under survey is the first to show a reduction, but since 1920–1 the rate of increase has not been great. This is only one example of the retardation of educational progress that has followed upon industrial depression and the regime of "economy."

It will be convenient to express some of these figures as percentages of the 10–11 age-group—thus:

TABLE III

	14–15.	15–16.	Total over 14.
1912–13 . .	6·3	0·8	7·1
1913–14 . .	6·1	0·8	7·0
1919–20 . .	17·4	1·3	18·8
1920–1 . . .	18·3	1·5	20·0
1921–2 . . .	22·4	1·9	24·6
1922–3 . . .	23·6	2·0	25·6
1923–4 . . .	24·7	2·0	27·0
1924–5 . . .	24·1	2·0	26·4

Already, therefore, more than a quarter of the pupils who are in the elementary schools at 10 continue their education in elementary schools after their fourteenth birthday.

In 1899–1900 the number of pupils aged 14–15 attending public elementary schools "for older

scholars" was 53,057. It was this that made the need for organising a public system of secondary education so evident. There are now three times that number of the same age in these schools, but they have not, so far, been included in the secondary system.

This tendency to prolong the elementary school life is found in all areas, but it is not equally well developed everywhere. Its strength seems to depend in large measure upon the type of area, and, in a lesser degree, upon the kind of elementary school provided by the local authority, and upon the other inducements held out to pupils to remain. An accurate comparison between areas administered by different types of authority may be obtained by relating the number of pupils voluntarily continuing their school course to the number in the 9–10 age-group, a group which has not been reduced by transfers to the secondary system. Such a comparison yields the following results :

TABLE IV

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PUPILS OVER 14 AS PERCENTAGE OF THE 9–10 AGE-GROUP. ENGLAND AND WALES

Type of Authority.	1919–20.	1921–2.	1922–3.	1924–5.
County Councils . . .	16·2	19·2	21·2	24·8
Boroughs and urban districts	17·6	23·1	25·1	29·5
County Boroughs . .	18·7	23·4	25·7	28·0
London	25·7	26·4	32·5	35·1

The County Councils, which control the rural areas, where it is difficult to organise senior elementary courses, naturally make the worst showing, but even here a very considerable progress has been made. The significant figures are those for London, which are explained in large part by the development in that area of central schools providing an organised four-year course of instruction for pupils from 11 onwards.

The tendency to remain at school seems to depend very largely on the nature of the area and the character of the population, and to be independent of the type of authority administering it. In a residential or suburban area it is well marked; in a purely industrial area pupils tend to leave school at the earliest opportunity.

This is seen if the number of scholars between the ages of 14 and 15 is compared with the total number on the registers for different districts. Cambridge, Beckenham, Rutland (urban), Cheltenham, Folkestone, Gillingham, Reading, Twickenham, Great Yarmouth, and Hove are areas where the percentage is high. On the other hand, in Mossley, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Hindley, Ince-in-Makerfield, and Wigan the percentage is low. The former are areas which have a large middle-class population; the latter are purely industrial. With few exceptions, the factory areas of Lancashire and the West Riding of

Yorkshire are disappointing, no matter by what type of authority they are administered. It is precisely these areas where the system of half-time was most persistent, and where industrial employment is assured to most young persons leaving school.

Even if the inquiry be confined to similar areas considerable variations are disclosed. In the rural parts of agricultural counties, e.g. Berkshire, Cornwall, and Hampshire, the percentage of pupils retained after 14 to the number on the registers is comparatively high, while in Derbyshire and Lincolnshire (Holland) it is comparatively low. Similar variations are found in the industrial towns, though the latest figures indicate that the backward ones are now making some progress.

The conclusion cannot be resisted that, while it is, on the whole, more difficult to keep the children of the industrial classes at school, a great deal depends on the inducements offered to them by the local education authority. It is not merely a matter, either, of giving maintenance allowances to the children of poor parents, important though that is; a prolongation of the school life depends, in large measure, on the attractiveness and efficiency of the schools provided.

The Dynamic Survey

This survey is designed to show the movement of the child population from school to school, or out into the world, between the ages of 11 and 16. It will be concerned chiefly with those who leave the elementary school, for it is important to discover how many of them transfer to other full-time courses or to evening classes, and how many of them are lost, and at what age, to the educational system. The following table gives the essential data.

TABLE V

Elementary School Leavers by Age, 1924–5

		Under 11.	11–12.	12–13.	13–14.	14–15.	15–16.	Over 16.
Total number of leavers .	714,312	61,177	42,752	34,546	25,396	534,723	12,894	2,824
Percentage of total .	—	8·6	6·0	4·8	3·5	74·9	1·8	0·4

If these figures are compared with those of previous years it will be noticed that, as a result of the changes in the law governing exemption which have already been discussed, there is an increasing concentration of leavers in the 14–15 age-group, together with a small but definite increase in the percentage leaving later than that age.

TABLE VI

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LEAVERS BY AGE

	Under 11.	11–12.	12–13.	13–14.	14–15.	15–16.	Over 16.
1919–20 .	9·8	5·4	6·3	23·6	53·7	1·1	0·1
1921–2 .	8·4	5·6	5·8	17·5	61·1	1·4	—
1922–3 .	9·1	5·2	5·3	7·6	70·6	1·9	0·3
1924–5 .	8·6	6·0	4·8	3·5	74·9	1·8	0·4

This table shows strong confirmatory evidence that the elementary school age is tending slightly to rise. In five years the number leaving at 14–15 has increased from 351,135 to 534,723 as a result of the cessation of exemptions. During the same period the number leaving at 15–16 has increased from 7,324 to 12,894. This is an appreciable improvement. But even now the number of children leaving in the latter group is insignificant compared with the number leaving in the 14–15 age-group; in fact, it is less than 3 per cent. of it.

The Board of Education supplies two other sets of figures that bear on the problem under discussion. The first gives the number of elementary school leavers transferring to other full-time day schools aided by grant; the second gives the number leaving totally exempt from full-time attendance. It will be necessary at a later stage to consider each of these classes in detail, but if at the moment these figures are added together,

and then the total subtracted from the total number of leavers, the result gives the number in each age-group unaccounted for by reason of emigration, death, or transference to non-grant-aided schools.

TABLE VII

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LEAVERS UNACCOUNTED FOR, BY AGE, 1924–5

	Under 11.	11–12.	12–13.	13–14.	14–15.	15–16.	Over 16.
Totals .	45,695	12,819	12,385	11,774	5,981	270	143
Percentage of total leavers . .	6·4	1·8	1·7	1·6	0·6	·05	·03

It will be seen that 12·18 per cent. of the total leavers, a total of 88,767, were in that year comprised in this class. Comparison with previous years shows that this number and percentage are almost invariable, and that between 11,000 and 12,000 from a normal age-group are lost annually for these reasons.

The following table gives the numbers and percentages of those becoming totally exempt from school attendance.

TABLE VIII

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LEAVERS TOTALLY EXEMPT, BY AGE, 1924–5

	12–13.	13–14.	14–15.	15–16.	Over 16	Total.
Totals . .	4	981	524,013	12,018	2,408	539 514
Percentage of total leavers .	0·0	0·1	73·4	1 7	0·3	75·5

Here it will be observed that three-quarters of the leavers were totally exempt, and presumably did not continue their full-time education. It is a huge class, totalling 539,514. The variations in the total number of leavers which have already been noted are accurately reflected here. The disturbing feature is that the percentage of total leavers who do not transfer to other schools has actually increased from 71·7 in 1919–20 to 75·5 four years later. Nor is this accounted for by the growth in the number continuing to a later age within the elementary school itself. Later other evidence will be given that during these years there was a definite and substantial decrease in the number availing themselves of continued full-time instruction.

It is not possible to say with any accuracy how many of these exempted leavers joined evening classes, or otherwise continued their part-time education. The number of boys and girls attending day continuation schools is known to have been about (18,315) between the ages of 14 and 16. When compulsory day continuation courses were in being the number rose to 91,195. This was about 20 per cent. of those totally exempt throughout the country in that year, or 14 per cent. of all elementary school leavers.

The numbers attending ordinary continuation

or technical courses, which include evening classes, were as follows :

TABLE IX

ORDINARY CONTINUATION AND TECHNICAL COURSES, BY AGE, 1924–5

	Under 12.	12–13.	13–14.	14–15.	15–16.	16–17.
Boys .	94	354	7,362	61,208	51,080	50,010
Girls .	82	268	6,464	53,176	36,059	30,552
Totals .	176	622	13,826	114,384	87,139	80,562

Obviously some of those who attended these courses were also attending an elementary school at the same time, but there seems to be no doubt that at least 80 per cent. of those who leave the elementary school totally exempt do not, in effect, attend any evening classes afterwards. We may estimate, therefore, that during 1924–5 more than 400,000 children were entirely lost to the national system of education between 14 and 15. There are no means of ascertaining how many of them attended classes in commercial subjects conducted by the numerous private agencies, but, in comparison with the number of children concerned, the number must be small.

Attention is now directed to the 88,101 elementary school pupils who were transferred in 1924–5 to other full-time day schools either

secondary or technical. They formed 12·3 per cent. of the elementary school leavers, and were distributed by age as follows :

TABLE X

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LEAVERS TRANSFERRED TO OTHER FULL-TIME DAY SCHOOLS, BY AGE, 1924–5

	Under 11.	11–12.	12–13.	13–14.	14–15.	15–16.	Over 16.
Total, 88,101 . .	15,482	29,933	22,457	12,641	6,729	606	253
Percentage of total Leavers } 12·3.	2·2	4·2	3·1	1·8	0·9	0·1	0·0

It has already been pointed out that the percentage of leavers who availed themselves of their total exemption from compulsory school attendance had increased during the period 1919–25. The unfortunate fact must now be recorded that the percentage transferring to other schools shows a corresponding reduction for the same period, from 14·6 to 12·3 per cent. Not only has the percentage of leavers transferring diminished, but the actual number has fallen from 95,365 to 88,101. This was due, in large measure, to the combination of industrial depression and misplaced economy. With this misdirected endeavour to produce economy this report has little to do, but it is necessary that the attention of the nation should be drawn to the fact that the recruitment to secondary education was inevitably checked, and that, as a consequence, during the

next three or four years the total number of pupils attending secondary schools will to that extent show a decrease, and that, at the end of that period, a certain depletion of the higher forms, and consequently more difficulty in the organisation of advanced courses, must be expected.

In effecting saving the method used to curtail the opportunity for secondary education was to reduce the number of entrants, and thus decrease the number of pupils in the schools. "The demand for restricted expenditure," it is said, "led to free places being limited, and to fees being increased at a time of severe economic difficulty." The net effect upon the entry to secondary schools is seen in the following table.

TABLE XI

ENTRIES TO SECONDARY SCHOOLS ON GRANT LIST

1913–14.	1919–20.	1920–1.	1921–2.	1922–3.	1923–4.	1924–5.
54,141	96,283	95,561	90,601	80,754	80,340	84,567

The decrease began with the onset of the industrial depression in 1920–1, though the first term of that year showed a substantial increase. It was not arrested until 1923–4, when not only was the limitation on the number of free places removed, but a small auxiliary grant was given for any increase in their number. The evidence

goes to show that the demand for secondary education has not diminished since the war; on the contrary, it has gathered strength, but new obstacles have arisen in the path of those who wish to proceed to a secondary school.

The fall in the entry affected ex-elementary and non-elementary pupils alike; it affected, that is to say, both the free-placer and the fee-payer. It would appear that industrial depression was the original cause of the decreased entry, and that those to feel its effects first were the fee-payers. The situation, already serious, was aggravated by a general increase in fees. In so far as this tended to exclude those whose only claim to places in the schools was the ability to pay fees, it was not altogether to be deplored; but some attempt should have been made to maintain the entry by increasing the number of free places offered. Special measures should have been taken so that the secondary schools could be used to the limit of their proved capacity. Instead of this common-sense development, an actual limitation of free places was imposed. It should, however, be pointed out that in the matter of elementary school leavers proceeding to secondary schools there is a great disparity between different areas, the percentage varying from round about 4·4 to 27·6!

A fairly accurate estimate can now be made of

the extent to which public elementary school pupils in 1924–5 were transferred to secondary schools.

The total number on public elementary school registers . . .	5,641,000
The total transferring to secondary schools was	59,419
The percentage of pupils who transfer annually is thus	1·05
The average age-group in the public elementary school is . . .	650,000
The total number of pupils of elementary school class aged 11–14 is (about)	1,950,000
The percentage of the 11–14 age-group transferred annually is . . .	3

Still assuming the average age-group is 650,000, we find that :

7,825 were transferred before 11, or 1·2 per cent. of the age-group.

24,863 were transferred at 11–12, or 3·8 per cent. of the age-group.

18,927 were transferred at 12–13, or 2·9 per cent. of the age-group.

5,691 were transferred at 13–14, or 0·88 per cent. of the age-group.

2,113 were transferred later than 14, or 0·32 per cent. of the age-group.

The maximum number of those transferred at all ages will thus be 9·1 per cent. of any given age-group. This figure represents the present average opportunity of the secondary school to elementary pupils.

The following classification of elementary school leavers indicates afresh the main lines of the problem with which this report deals.

TABLE XII

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LEAVERS, ENGLAND AND WALES, 1924 5

	Per cent.
Left for various causes without exemption . . .	12·2
Left with total exemption	75·5
Transferred to secondary and other schools . . .	12·3

CHAPTER IV

THE PROPOSAL FOR DAY CONTINUATION SCHOOLS

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THE PROPOSAL FOR DAY CONTINUATION SCHOOLS

(i) The Act of 1918

The day continuation clauses of the Act of 1918 were a laudable attempt to mitigate the existing neglect of adolescence. If they were fully operative, every young person who did not receive a full-time schooling till 16 would be compelled to attend a part-time school for 320 hours a year till the age of 18. It was not proposed that the full scheme should be enforced at once. For the first seven years the obligation to attend would have ceased at 16, and the hours of attendance might have been reduced by the local education authority to 280 a year. The full requirement would mean, in practice, that the young person would have to attend for two half-days of four hours each every week for forty weeks in the year; but the local authorities would not have been obliged to adopt this particular solution of the arithmetical problem, and might have distributed the hours in any other way more suited to local desire. Pupils could not be re-

quired under the Act to attend before 8 a.m. or after 7 p.m. This implied that the schools must be staffed by full-time teachers of their own, and that the pupils must attend normally during the usual hours of employment. To secure that pupils must really be released from work to go to school, an additional provision forbade the holding of school on Sunday or on the weekly half-holiday. The local authority might insist where necessary that the pupil might be withdrawn from employment for an additional two hours a day, so that he might have time for travel to and from school and might be in a fit mental and bodily condition to profit by the instruction when he reached it. "Non-provided" day continuation schools might be established by employers in connection with their factories or shops, by denominational bodies, or by other organisations interested in educational development; but these were to be open to inspection, and controlled and administered under the direction of the local authority. No pupil might be compelled to attend school at the particular establishment where he was employed.

Such, in brief outline, were the details of the scheme which was to come into operation on an "appointed day" to be fixed by the Board of Education for the country as a whole, or for each

administrative area separately. It is significant that no Government, since the passing of the Act, has felt sufficiently strong to fix an appointed day for its general enforcement. Nor is this failure to make the Act operative due entirely to considerations of economy, or to the great difficulties in equipping and staffing the part-time schools. It is due in no small measure to popular objections to compulsory part-time continued education, which have been strengthened rather than diminished by the experience of London, the only really large area that has at any time adopted the Act.

The authors of the Act were obviously influenced by the example of Germany, where, since the institution of voluntary eighth-year classes in the elementary school in 1894, the system of part-time continued education had shown a striking development.

(ii) Compulsory Day Continuation Schools in London

The continuation schools in London, established at a most awkward time and under very disadvantageous circumstances, were steadily improving their position in the popular esteem, when the accident of an election campaign brought compulsory attendance at them to a sudden end. A report submitted to the Council

at the end of the year's working claims that "the continuation schools as constituted at present are performing invaluable work in providing a particular form of education, and show every promise of overcoming initial difficulties," and suggests that if the course were continued for more than one year "the work they could do would be enormously improved." At first sight it may be difficult to reconcile these assertions with the fact that the percentage of enrolled pupils attending had been progressively decreasing for some months; but it must be remembered that the schools had by that time ceased to be compulsory, although a complicated machinery of persuasion was at work actively inducing enrolled pupils to attend. With smaller attendance of more willing pupils it is certain that the schools were doing their most valuable work at the time when the main features of the scheme were abandoned. The attendance in the concluding weeks suggests very strongly that the schools were not necessarily doomed to failure, in spite of the mistakes and inadequacies which always accompany an ambitious experiment in an untried field, and which in this instance were gradually being repaired; nor could it be suggested with entire truth in the light of this attendance that the establishment of these schools was a step too far in advance of public opinion.

A particularly unscrupulous campaign by certain newspapers was largely responsible for the decrease in attendance, and for the final overthrow of the schools. Every day incidents were reported, some of them apocryphal, designed to prejudice the public mind, while all evidence in favour of the schools was carefully suppressed. One statement alone, uncontradicted in the papers that gave it currency, that they involved the imposition of a rate of 1*s.* 4*d.* in the £, must have had an incalculable influence on the electorate. The actual rate was 1¼*d.* in the £!

In some respects, however, the Press was stating legitimate grievances, particularly when it brought to the public notice certain anomalies of employment due to the limited administrative area over which compulsion was applied. The industrial and residential districts round London form an area which for many purposes is conveniently treated as a unit. Compulsory withdrawal from work of boys and girls who lived in the area of the London County Council, while those who came from Surrey, Middlesex, and Essex were exempt, produced an obvious injustice that, more than any other factor, was fatal to the scheme.

Even under the conditions of industrial depression that existed in 1921–2 it was comparatively easy for children of the school-leaving age to find

employment. It may have been in a blind-alley occupation, but even then an addition of ten or fifteen shillings a week to the family income was very welcome, particularly as the adult members of the family were often unemployed. It was well known that certain employers, especially small employers, preferred to engage boys who were exempt from the obligation to attend the day continuation school. Children from the extra-metropolitan areas were much in demand, and London children at a corresponding disadvantage. Relatively only a small number of children were affected by this factor, but there is little doubt that most of the 30 per cent. of the pupils who were unemployed attributed their position to the fact that they were attending school. Public opinion about this disability was so strong that it is thought to be impossible ever to apply compulsion again in the same partial manner to one section only of a great industrial community.

The difficulty need not have arisen even in London, for, when the scheme was first initiated, a joint committee of Part II authorities was formed, and concerted action by the L.C.C. and the extra-metropolitan authorities might have been taken. Signs of this were not lacking, when the onset of the economy campaign prevented any move by the " out-county " authorities, and

left London to carry on without their co-operation. This decision was a primary cause of the failure of the scheme.

Other anomalies of employment also arose. When the age limit was lowered from 16 to 15, it became relatively difficult for children below the age of 15 to get work, for employers preferred to utilise those in the age-group 15–16 who had become exempt, and who could be obtained at approximately the same wage. This may not have been altogether regrettable, since it increased employment in the older age-group, and encouraged the younger pupils to remain full time at school. But it was a real grievance to many families which were deprived of the few shillings they might have expected, while a boy from another family, perhaps in the same street, had obtained the job.

Further, it was impossible to enforce the provisions of the Act which said that attendance must always be in working hours, and that no deduction might be made from wages for time lost. Many employers arranged that their boys should go to school on their weekly half-holiday, or that pay should be reduced in proportion to the time lost. Any protest by the school, or threat of action by the authority, resulted merely in the employee losing his situation.

Another factor that contributed to the failure

of the scheme was the inadequacy of the buildings in which the schools were housed. Generally, they had been designed in no way for educational purposes, but were rooms rented from clubs, or religious organisations, or other bodies. Thus the local authority had no power to effect the structural alterations which were necessary if they were to be used successfully as schools.

Similarly, difficulties arose over the supply of teachers, and were only in process of solution when the experiment ended. Even members of the staff who were experienced in secondary school work found themselves confronted by a problem not easy to solve. The pupils were unaccustomed to secondary school methods, and, at the beginning, some of them protested against the compulsion to attend by refusing to facilitate the teacher's task. Owing to the irregularity of attendance, classes were even smaller than in secondary schools, but they were composed of unselected and ungraded pupils, every standard of the elementary school from four to ex-seven being represented in the same class. A new type of curriculum had to be evolved, for it was more important to interest than merely to instruct; and while the teaching was expressly directed to the interests which boys and girls had found for themselves in the outside world, yet it was much hampered by the restrictions

imposed by the school conditions on practical and experimental activity. The physical training was invariably welcomed by the scholars, and here, perhaps, the schools had their most beneficial effect.

In two other ways they were also of great service. The provision for medical inspection and treatment continued the good work begun in the elementary school, and, in health matters, was a most valuable auxiliary to the physical training. The finding of suitable occupations offering a prospect of continued employment was recognised by everyone as a great argument in favour of the schools. Employers became more and more willing to use this particular machinery when filling vacancies in their service, and many pupils came to consider that the schools were the most suitable avenue to desirable work in life.

The Failure of the Scheme

In view of these experiences it is very likely that it will be impossible for some time to come to enforce the compulsory day continuation clauses of the Fisher Act. The conditions of success will not be present until the country has experimented widely with a scheme of voluntary day continuation schools which will give an opportunity for creating an efficient teaching staff, for evolving a suitable curriculum,

and for erecting buildings, and which, above all, will gradually accustom the public mind to the idea of part-time continued education, and which will demonstrate its advantages both to the pupils and to those who employ them. The whole history of educational development in this country suggests that this is the proper line of advance. Continued part-time education on a voluntary basis will not go very far to solve the problem of neglected adolescence, but it can do a little, particularly if associated with an extensive development of full-time schools.

(iii) The Voluntary Day Continuation Schools in London

A great deal may be learned about the possibilities of voluntary day continuation schools by the experience of London since compulsion was abolished in 1922. The compulsory schools were succeeded by eleven voluntary schools, each of which drew its pupils from a larger area than that of the compulsory schools it replaced. That the schools on a basis of voluntary attendance supply a real need is proved by the fact that in the first year of their existence 9,167 pupils attended them for longer or shorter periods, and that since then the number has shown a distinct tendency to grow. This year it is expected that at least 12,000 young persons will benefit by them,

and that both the average number of hours put in by a pupil in a week, and the average length of the individual school life, will be greater.[1] This progress is a sign that the schools are becoming more and more adapted to the real needs of the adolescents, and that they are recognised to be a valuable preliminary to employment. Pupils attend at least six, but more frequently fifteen, hours a week, and some are in their third consecutive year of attendance. Many of them attend evening classes for several hours a week in addition, and are receiving in fact almost a full-time education.

The regrettable effect of non-compulsory attendance is that the pupil usually has to leave when employment is obtained, for so far only the more enlightened (who are generally also the largest) employers recognise the real value of continuing the education of their employees. Thus, during 1924, about 5,000 pupils left the schools for this particular reason.

Type of Pupil

Most of the pupils are the children of relatively poor parents, and are drawn almost exclusively from the more respectable and hard-working

[1] The enrolment in 1923–4 was 10,225, and in 1924–5 was 11,411. During this period the actual attendances increased by at least 50 per cent.

homes. The thriftless and improvident are the least likely to realise the need for educating their children, and thus the voluntary schools leave the poorest class of the population almost untouched. In so far as this is true, they fail in the primary purpose of the compulsory schools. They are, in fact, used as a substitute for secondary education proper by those who cannot afford fees, and who are debarred from a full-time education by the shortage of secondary and central school places. The vast majority of the pupils are of the secondary school type; they do work of a secondary school standard very effectively, and those who are best acquainted with them assert that if the secondary school system were extended, and if the parents were adequately assisted by maintenance allowances, most of the part-time pupils would gladly avail themselves of the wider opportunities open to them. Thus these schools have supplied what is a most remarkable evidence of the growing demand for further education, and of the need for supplying it on a much more generous scale.

(iv) Organisation of Schools by Trades

Equally the voluntary continuation schools indicate what a powerful appeal would be made by secondary schools which took special account of the vocational interests of those who attended

them. In London, with its predominantly commercial interests, there is a great demand for instruction in shorthand, book-keeping, and typewriting, and this is fostered by the knowledge that there is no difficulty in securing work for those who are proficient in these studies. The junior technical schools teach us the same lesson.

The trade work of the schools is being slowly developed, but so far has attained no great magnitude. Unlike certain German cities, Munich in particular, we have so far failed to devise an educational system suitable to those who enter manual trades. We have the London School of Building, and the London School of Cookery and Waiting, at both of which a general education is supplementary to the vocational training; but so far we have experimented insufficiently in school organisation by trades. Our provision of educational workshops is inexpensive and meagre, with the result that few of our schools attract those who wish ultimately to train for skilled occupations. Although at the moment unemployment is rife among skilled industrials, and the rate of influx to trades has therefore slowed down, yet the tendency of the London schools to specialise by trades is well marked, and we may instance the successful co-operation of the Westminster Day Continuation School with the

Incorporated Association of Retail Distributors. Equally significant is the development of a class for young butchers at Battersea into a separate institution, which now attracts an increasing number of the young workers in Smithfield Market, and the opening of a junior technical day school at the Cordwainers' Technical College for the exclusive use of boys in the boot and shoe trade.

The Unskilled Worker

It is even less surprising that the schools have failed to attract unskilled workers, who are recruited from the ranks of those who have few intellectual interests, and who frequently start life in a blind-alley occupation. Even casual employment at an early age is an effective bar to attendance at a day continuation school, and neither employers nor the unskilled workers themselves recognise that a trained intelligence, and an understanding of industrial life in all its phases, is an advantage to those who habitually perform routine operations. Many occupations usually classed as "unskilled" require initiative and intelligence in a high degree, and the most mechanical of labourers will at times find himself called upon to make a decision and to employ resource. Yet the voluntary part-time school is unlikely ever to interest workers of this class.

Seasonal Trades

At least one experience suggests that the voluntary day continuation school may be used effectively for the periodic education of young workers in seasonal trades. A well-known firm of dyers and cleaners finds that their work is slack from November until Easter, and formerly they were obliged to dismiss many of their young workers at the beginning of the slack season, and to reassemble them, or to engage new ones, who required to be trained in, and accustomed to the work, when the temporary depression was at an end. In 1924 this firm retained all their young workers at full wages during the winter, on the condition that they were punctual in attendance at the day continuation school. The experiment is regarded as highly successful, and it is intended to repeat it in subsequent years. When work is resumed it is done more efficiently, and there is no need to recruit untried and inexperienced operatives. What is true of this trade is probably true of other seasonal occupations, and further developments of the kind may be expected in connection with them.

Works Schools

Even before the passing of the Education Act, 1918, many progressive firms had established works schools for their young employees. Many

of them were actuated by a real concern for the welfare of their workers, some thought primarily of the increased efficiency that would result from training, while others regarded their experiment as a relatively inexpensive advertisement. Most of these works schools were admirably conducted on sound principles, and served as models to the schools subsequently established by local education authorities. The Act gave them legal recognition, and assured them of grant aid if they complied with the conditions it imposed. At the same time it attempted to secure that the employer should not abuse the partial control that he exercised, by providing that no employee should be compelled to attend such a school if he preferred to go elsewhere. This safeguard was not very effective in practice, as refusal to attend might quite easily involve loss of employment with the firm. A more important guarantee was the wide power of inspection and control accorded to the local authority.

The real advantages of the works school are the relative ease of attendance, and the fact that the school work is recognised by pupils, parents, and employers as both an asset and an obligation of the pupil. The main disadvantage is the uncertainty of continuance, since so many variable factors, the fluctuations of profit, the changing views of directors, managers, and shareholders,

and the goodwill of the employees themselves, may affect the fortunes of the school. Under the present law a labour dispute might easily suspend or terminate the work of such a school. Where works schools are established, certainly some guarantee of permanency should be required.

But it does not seem probable that works schools will be developed on any extensive scale. A firm must be of a considerable size before it will venture upon such an undertaking. The availability of premises is an important consideration, and their provision may involve a relatively heavy capital cost. Industrial depression is a bar to this and similar expenditure, and firms are now reluctant to assume obligations which by law are those of public authorities. These factors in conjunction have resulted in a considerable diminution in the number of works schools in London since the abandonment of the Council's own compulsory scheme. The loss is not so serious as it may at first seem, as some of these schools were attended only by apprentices, and not by the general body of young workers. Another hampering factor has been the expressed hostility of organised labour to schools established on the premises of employers, a hostility inspired by the fear that the purity of general education may be subordinated to the interests of the firm.

Although the country is indebted to the pioneer efforts of public-spirited employers in the past, and the success of any scheme of part-time continued education must depend on their hearty co-operation in the future, works schools are likely always to occupy a quite subsidiary place in the national scheme of education.

CHAPTER V

THE CENTRAL SCHOOL MOVEMENT

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THE CENTRAL SCHOOL MOVEMENT

Its History

Though the Education Act of 1902 brought about the creation of a new series of secondary schools, only for a short time did it produce any perceptible slackening of the tendency for the elementary school system to extend in an upward direction. The higher grade schools and the schools of science were gradually transferred to a higher status under their new control, but a variety of new arrangements, essentially post-primary in nature, began to take their place.[1]

The first step was a development and a closer organisation of the higher standards within the elementary school itself. This occurred, not in all elementary schools, but, at first more or less informally, in those of them that were administered by particularly competent head teachers, who, by altering the curriculum, or by establishing a link with further education, or with industry

[1] An admirable account of this development is found in *The Central School*, by Spurley Hey, M.A., Director of Education for Manchester, published in 1924.

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and commerce, managed to retain their pupils a little longer than usual.

These "higher standard" schools established a reputation for efficiency in their immediate neighbourhood, and in time a number of older pupils from surrounding schools joined them in order to share the advantages of the courses afforded. This was essentially a *selective* transfer of the more capable pupils, who, for some reason, had failed to win a place in the growing secondary school system, or who proposed to leave at an earlier age than the normal secondary school pupils.

Here we have the genesis of the central school idea. The term "central" was in its origin geographical, but at an early stage began to imply a particular type of post-primary education. The central classes struggled towards freedom and more appropriate standards of equipment, and in time developed into independent selective central schools. These were fed annually with the best pupils from several contributory schools.

In the first few years of this experiment many alternative methods of transfer were tried in different areas. A general transfer at a given age proved to be invariably unsuccessful. Its effect was to withdraw pupils, irrespective of their attainments or natural capacities, from all Standards from III to VII, and thus to render impossible the proper organisation of

courses in the central school for older pupils. In 1927 it is amazing to find that the Swansea authority is still experimenting with this expedient and even suggesting 12 years 6 months as the age of transfer, a course which would give a majority of the transferred scholars only eighteen months in the central school.

A more reasonable alternative was tried in Bradford, the transfer of all pupils who had passed Standard V. The central schools were admirably planned and equipped, but a defect fatal to the scheme was the wide age range of the transferred pupils. The tendency to leave at 14 was too strong, with the result that some pupils undertook a three months', and others a four-year, course. Further, it was found that the passing of Standard V involved a different degree of attainment in different elementary schools. The authority, therefore, was driven, as were other authorities, to conclude that central schools must be organised on a selective basis, and that rigid comparisons must be instituted between the pupils at entry.

The central school movement, in its most obvious development, has since been essentially selective, and has provided advanced courses under the elementary code for pupils who have not entered the secondary school proper. Probably there is little difference in ability between

the best of these pupils and those who secure free places in the secondary school, especially perhaps in London. They are found in the selective central school either because they could not promise to follow a prolonged course, or because they did not obtain a sufficiently high place in the selective examination, or because they preferred the curriculum with a practical bias that has become usual in the last two years of central school life, or because the central schools were free.

The introduction of a bias, usually either commercial or industrial, into the curriculum is a characteristic feature of central school development, and its practical utility in securing permanent and comparatively well-paid employment has been a powerful attraction both to pupils and parents, and has helped to retain many pupils beyond the age of compulsory attendance. Indeed, it has become a common condition of admission that parents should promise in writing to retain their children at school till 15, or till the organised course is concluded. Such an undertaking is now exacted in 254 departments. The growth of central schools, with better equipment, a superior standard of staffing, and greater contact with the realities of the outside world, has been an important factor in creating that tendency to remain voluntarily at school which we have noted in our statistical chapter.

Unfortunately, we have no exact figures to show how many selective central schools with organised four-year courses have so far been established, as they are not classed in a separate category by the Board of Education. We know merely that such courses are now found in 332 departments, and a three-year course in 277 others. These departments are not necessarily independent schools. Certainly some form of central school education has been organised in many large towns, and in Manchester and London at least the self-contained central schools occupy a conspicuous and important place in the general system.

A Comparison with Secondary Schools

Six central schools were established by the Manchester authority about 1912, and, at the end of twelve years' experience of their working, Mr. Spurley Hey was able to frame an interesting comparison between them and the secondary schools. He indicated that :

(1) The central schools admit their pupils at the same age and on the same entrance examination as the secondary school.

(2) The two types of school are recruited from equally wide areas.

(3) The average school life is six months shorter for boys, and three months shorter for girls, in central schools than in secondary schools.

(4) A larger proportion of central school pupils enter industrial and technical occupations.

(5) Classes are larger, salaries lower, and holidays shorter than in secondary schools.

(6) The gross annual cost per pupil is £18 in central schools and £34 in secondary schools.

He concludes that central schools should be recognised as belonging to a separate category, and should be subject to special regulations of their own, and that the salaries of teachers, size of classes, and provision of playing-fields should approximate more closely than at present to the relative conditions obtaining in secondary schools.

The present differences in the regulations that govern the building of central and secondary schools involve a considerably greater expenditure upon the latter both in respect of capital cost and maintenance. Mr. Spurley Hey states, for example, that the cost in Manchester was £38 per place for the central school and £66 per place for the secondary school. In some areas the difference is even greater.

The great need is to recognise post-primary education, wherever it is undertaken, as a single whole. We believe it would be better, and more conducive to an improvement of standards, if central schools were accepted as a particular type of secondary provision, and if the secondary schools regulations were consequently altered to

permit a greater variety in curricula, and in the length of courses.

Its Growth in London

While it is argued in Manchester that more central schools should be established because they are cheaper to build and to maintain than secondary schools, there is no intention in that area to neglect the building of new secondary schools. The opposition to the central school movement is commonly based on the supposition that it merely provides a cheap and inferior substitute for the true secondary school. The difference in cost is so great that there is a real danger of the cheaper alternative being adopted, particularly at a time when the need for economy is being stressed. Yet it is most important that nothing shall be allowed to impede the natural growth of the secondary school system as we know it to-day. We hold that the two types of school should not be considered as alternative, but complementary, and that the development of both is equally necessary. As standards in central schools are improved these schools will grow, and the apprehension that considerations of economy will override the needs of the pupils will be diminished.

It appears that there is reason to believe that in London, where the central school system has

shown its most extensive development, there has not been a corresponding expansion in the provision of secondary schools. The figures for secondary education in London, 9·4 places per 1,000 inhabitants, as we shall show subsequently, can hardly be regarded as satisfactory. Only one secondary school has been built since the war, and in the next three years it is only proposed to provide for 1,775 additional pupils. Central schools are being opened at a much greater rate. In 1920 there were 50 of them, accommodating 17,000 pupils. The area scheme under the Education Act, 1918, suggested that there should be 100, with places for 40,000 pupils. Actually 62 had been established by 1925, with accommodation for 21,897, and it is now proposed that by the end of 1930 there shall be 78, with accommodation for 27,425.

The full figures for full-time post-primary education in London are given in the following table.

TABLE XIII[1]

Type of School.	Schools.	Accommodation.	Per 1,000 Population.
Secondary . . .	108	42,316	9·4
Central	66	23,418	5·2
Junior Technical and trade	38	4,150	0·9
Technical institute courses	31	3,370	0·8

[1] From L.C.C. programme of educational expenditure for the triennium 1927–30.

These figures are disappointing. Central and secondary provision together do not reach the dimensions of the secondary provision alone in either Middlesex or Surrey. When the admirable results of central school education in London are quoted, we must always remember the high standard required of the pupil at entry, a standard that would bring him to a true secondary school in many other areas.

Nevertheless, the central schools of London present us with a model organisation, and show us the system in its most perfect form. From them we learn many of the lessons which form the basis of the recommendations that we present at the end of this chapter.

While the selective central school in London and elsewhere is doing an invaluable work, and while it might be developed with advantage throughout the country, it will be realised that in its present form it can only touch the fringe of the problem of post-primary education. Even in London it deals with less than 4 per cent. of the pupils in any given age-group, and this indicates the intensity of the method of selection adopted. Further, selection is based mainly on academic attainment, and more provision should be made for ability which does not run in that narrow channel. While, therefore, central selective schools should be more freely supplied and,

perhaps, may ultimately provide a secondary education for ten times as many pupils as they do at present, there is an urgent need for other post-primary schools adapted to the special needs of children whose intellectual capacity is not marked, but who may possess talents of another order. The problem is not necessarily one of grading according to academic attainment or inherent mental power, but rather one of distribution according to type of ability.

The principle of collecting older pupils from contributory primary schools is thoroughly sound, but only if the further education given them is adapted to their real needs. This implies a variety of alternative courses preferably in schools specially devised to secure them, schools, perhaps, in which the constructive use of material is dominant, or in which the cultivation of music or the arts occupies a conspicuous place. Pupils who, judged by the usual standards, show less than average ability have an equal claim to attention, and under favourable conditions may develop unsuspected powers. Even failing this, it should be an axiom that those who have the least natural endowment require the more careful leading and the most painstaking introduction to the possibilities of life and the responsibilities of citizenship. To regard post-primary education as a privilege to be accorded

only to the intellectually gifted is to err inexcusably, for in its innumerable adaptations it must be the heritage of all young people.

Non-selective Central Schools

Meanwhile, and usually in areas where the population is not so dense, and therefore where it has not been found possible to establish and to fill post-primary schools of different types and of a reasonable size, the non-selective central school has arisen. Probably in such districts, and in rural areas where the villages are not too scattered, some similar arrangement will tend to be instituted and to persist.

An account of the typical non-selective school as it is known in Surrey will illustrate the difficulties of school organisation when pupils of very varied ability are collected together. It will at the same time show the advantages which follow from better school equipment, and from classes of a convenient size.

The central schools in Surrey take in all pupils —excepting those certified as mentally defective —who are 11 years old, or who will reach that age during the current term. Should a boy, however, show exceptional promise in the junior school he may be promoted before the age of 11. Should general attainment warrant it, the boy so promoted is entered for a junior county

scholarship. The advantage to the boy is that he receives two or more terms' instruction in French, Algebra, and Geometry, as well as specialised teaching in the other school subjects, and has this advantage on entering the secondary school.

As the central school is non-selective, there is a widely divergent degree of attainment among the entrants. This has necessitated the organisation into what are really two distinct schools. These are designated " A " and " B " respectively. The former consists of boys whose attainments are normal for 11 years. They enter on a four-years' course. The latter are boys whose attainments are sub-normal, owing to low mental capacity, slow development, or irregular attendance due either to sickness or to adverse home conditions.

The " B " boys on entry are placed in observation classes, and provided with a special curriculum. In several instances it has been found possible to transfer boys to the " A " side.

For those boys who do not go eventually to an " A " group a special class is provided. Boys enter this class at the beginning of the term in which they reach 13 years. A year's special attention at least is assured to them. Instruction on the practical side predominates, practical measurement and calculation, wood and metal

work, training and instruction in the duties of citizenship, and plenty of reading and talks.

The "A" boys go through a four-years' course, and enter for various examinations, such as those of the Royal Society of Arts, the London Chamber of Commerce, and the Oxford Locals. A considerable number remain at school till 16, and many even till 17. Economic conditions in the home are, in most cases, the factor determining the age at which a boy leaves school.

There is hardly any doubt that the central school has justified its existence, and that it is a great advance on the ordinary primary school. The backward boy has an infinitely better chance of making good, and the normal and the clever boy, to whom secondary education has been denied, owing largely to his parents' inability to meet the expense, gets an education comparable, age for age, to that provided by many secondary schools, though on rather different lines.

A very necessary provision, much more necessary than is generally understood, is that of playing-fields. These are particularly needed for the "B" boys. Among these one finds those who excel in sport, and who thereby earn the respect of their cleverer school-fellows, and, what is more important, increase their own self-respect.

From every point of view the selective school affords fewer difficulties and offers more advan-

tages than the non-selective, and it should be established wherever possible. Whatever virtues are claimed for the non-selective school, most of them would be equally obtainable in well-organised "higher tops," in which, indeed, the selective principle would be more pronounced. The pupils entering the "higher tops" would differ greatly in age, but not necessarily in attainment. The chief defect in the upper ranges of the elementary school is that it can seldom provide proper facilities for post-primary education. This is a defect that in rural villages or isolated small towns ought to be remedied if the "higher top" is to have its chance, though the cost is bound to be heavy.

The sole advantage that the non-selective school offers over the "higher top," provided always that the latter is well staffed and equipped with the essential educational apparatus, is that it has more pupils, so that with careful grading a variety of courses may be followed in one school. Nevertheless, we think that schools of the non-selective type will always be confined to areas of a special kind. They cannot be organised in sparsely populated districts, and they should not be organised where the population justifies the selective school.

This brief survey has shown that, while the elementary system has everywhere tended to

expand and to improve its higher ranges, the devices adopted have varied a great deal in different areas, owing largely to overruling factors that are permanent in character. We may expect, therefore, that the existing diversity will be maintained. We have only to urge that the movement has now attained such proportions that it should be co-ordinated on the administrative side, so that its post-primary nature may be beyond dispute.

We will summarise here the main conclusions about central schools to which our review of them has led.

Recommendations relating to Central Schools

1. In the development of the school system suitable ratios should be established between the number of pupils who follow secondary courses of different types. In general not less than 25 per cent. of the age-group about the age of 11 should begin to follow a course of the type now usual in secondary schools. At present, even in a favoured area like London, only 15 per cent. of the age-group is allowed to pursue a full-time education beyond the age of 13 in definitely organised secondary and central schools. It follows that most pupils now in selective central schools should really be studying something

like the present secondary curriculum. There is evidence that many of these pupils are anxious to enter recognised secondary schools, but are debarred by the inadequacy of secondary school accommodation, and of free-place provision. A further 50 per cent. of the age-group should follow courses which (in their later years) will have a more practical character, according to their natural bias and abilities.

The Board of Education, in approving schemes for development, should insist that proper ratios between courses of different types are maintained.

2. It is recognised that those pupils who follow a course containing some practical bias in its later stages will usually leave school at an earlier age than others. Thus the probable leaving age becomes important when we consider what subjects a pupil should undertake, or what department of a school he should enter. Whether several alternative courses should be provided in the same school, or whether any given school should have a single bias, is an open question, and should be the subject of further experiment. Possibly it may be answered differently in urban and in rural areas. Unity of aim and purpose in a school is usually advantageous, and successful departmentalisation only becomes easy when the school is large. In rural and other sparsely populated areas it may be necessary for even a

small school to organise a number of different courses for different types of pupil, but too great a dispersion of interest in the school should be avoided where possible. It will always be necessary to make special arrangements for exceptional individuals.

3. Provision should be made for the conversion of the central schools, now administered under the elementary code, into secondary schools of a new type. This has been done sporadically, but it should be recognised as deserving of systematic encouragement. They should be required progressively to improve their standards, by a reduction in the size of classes, by hygienic arrangements in advance of the present elementary requirements, and by the provision of better laboratories, workshops within the school, and playing-fields. Ultimately school conditions should be not inferior to those of existing secondary schools, but, during the transitional period from the elementary system, it may be necessary to permit some deviation from this standard as a temporary measure. The equipment and furniture of central schools should facilitate the use of modern methods of individual work.

4. It should be required that an adequate proportion of the teaching staff should have a university degree, or the equivalent qualification in some professional or technical subject. All

should possess a teacher's certificate or a diploma in education. If teachers with the necessary qualifications are to be obtained, they should be paid salaries comparable to those paid to secondary teachers with similar qualifications, until the school is definitely recognised as a secondary school and the appropriate standard scale can be enforced. Holidays in central schools are now too short, if the teacher is to use them for the further professional and general education which is essential to the success of his work.

5. While the whole of the teaching should be associated with the special aim of the school or department, the number of hours devoted to definitely vocational subjects should be strictly limited, and in no instance should such subjects be introduced before the pupil reaches the age of 14. Their presence in the curriculum has already proved a powerful influence in retaining pupils at school beyond the age of compulsory attendance. If they are confined to what is usually the last year of the school course, up to five hours a week may be devoted to them with advantage. A fifth year, to the age of 16, with a relatively heavy bias, is believed to provide a satisfactory link between the school and commerce or industry. A really intelligent interest in school work seems to awaken about the fifteenth birthday, and, if the circumstances of the parents

permit, or proper provision for maintenance is made, it is comparatively easy to persuade a pupil of that age to remain even longer at school. The maintenance allowances now offered are too few in number and inadequate in amount.

6. Whatever bias may predominate in a school or department, provision should be made for individual pupils who wish to depart from it. In particular, the possibility that some pupils will prefer a course of general education must be borne in mind. Since it is not possible at the age of 11 to determine what life-work a child may ultimately be fitted for, pupils may find themselves following a course unsuited to their predilection or ability. It is necessary therefore that the possibility of transfer about 14 from one course to another should be safeguarded. Again, pupils who are capable of taking, and who wish to take, advanced courses should be transferred to a fully organised secondary school at the age of 16. It is true that biased courses terminable at 16 will not usually lead to any recognised examination of a matriculation standard, though they sometimes do; but this should not be allowed to prevent transference to purely academic work when the pupil has shown himself likely to profit by a specialised advanced course.

7. As a rule the pupil will not continue a semi-vocational course beyond the age of 16. It would

be impossible for any school to provide a complete vocational education for all its pupils. But there is a great need for an organised system of training institutions specialising in the various branches of industry or commerce to which pupils may pass.

8. Ultimately all children who are not feeble-minded should be transferred to these diversified secondary schools about the age of 11. A proper organisation of courses will recognise the fact that ability varies not only in degree but in kind. In areas where non-selective transference to central schools has been practised it is found necessary to organise at least two departments in which the methods of instruction are radically different. For those pupils who are predisposed towards manual rather than towards literary activity the curriculum should include more craft and trade work than is usual in the schools of to-day, and possibly it may be convenient to organise this in a separate school. But here as elsewhere ease of transference must be a first consideration.

9. It is undesirable, even at present, to organise courses of less than four years in duration. Whatever the average leaving age of the pupils, the course should be designed to carry them to their sixteenth year. Courses properly organised will tend to retain the pupils until they are completed. It would be a great help in the first

instance if the age of compulsory school attendance were raised to 15.

10. The progressive reorganisation of the system may most easily be secured by encouraging the present local authorities for elementary education to establish central schools; but the Board of Education should insist that, along with this development, an adequate number of secondary schools shall also be set up in any given area. Further, with a view to gradually bringing all post-primary schools within the secondary system, the Board should review the position of all central schools from time to time, and should transfer those of them that have attained a certain standard of equipment and efficiency to the control of the authority for secondary education, giving them a complete secondary status. Some modification of the present regulations for secondary schools will be needed to admit of the incorporation of these new schools in the secondary system. Care should be taken that the ample freedom in curriculum now secured to such schools under the elementary code should be preserved after the transference. Any decision to enter pupils, even on the academic side, for external examinations should be left entirely to the school authorities, and should be discouraged rather than encouraged. Joint committees should be established everywhere between

Part II and Part III authorities administering the same area, and every possible means should be used to induce Part III authorities so to improve their schools that transfer to the secondary system may become possible. Since under the present law fees may be charged in secondary schools, it should be provided that transferred central schools be safeguarded in this matter, and that those so transferred be fully available to those pupils who are most capable of profiting by the instruction to be offered. They should be kept as they are to-day in this respect, free.

CHAPTER VI

REORGANISATION WITHIN THE ELEMENTARY SYSTEM

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WHAT are the best arrangements that can be made to deal as adequately as possible with the post-primary problem so far as it concerns the pupils who are not at present transferred to a secondary or central school? Enlightened authorities in many areas, who have observed the inadequacy of the existing provision, and the waste of talent involved by the scattered effort of many individual schools dealing with small numbers of pupils over 11, have already directed their attention to projects of reform. As we consider the steps which have been already taken in Carlisle, Leicester, Nottingham, and elsewhere, and follow actual attempts to solve the problem, we get an insight into its difficulties and complexities.

(i) THE OBLIGATIONS OF LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES

In striving to meet this problem the authorities concerned are but carrying out the duty imposed

upon them by the Education Act of 1918. Under Section II of that Act it is stated that :

(1) It shall be the duty of a local education authority so to exercise their powers under Part III of the Education Act of 1902 as :

(*a*) To make or otherwise secure adequate and suitable provision by means of central schools, central or special classes, or otherwise. . . .

(*b*) To organise in public elementary schools courses of advanced instruction for the older or more intelligent children in attendance at such schools, including children who stay at such schools beyond the age of 14.

(*c*) To make, or otherwise secure, adequate and suitable arrangements for co-operating with local education authorities for the purposes of Part II of the Education Act of 1902 in matters of common interest and particularly in respect of the preparation of children for further education in schools other than elementary, and their transference at suitable ages to such schools.

Two additional points should also be noted. Not only are certain duties laid upon local education authorities, but it is stated that in pursuance of those duties the authority for elementary education from time to time may, and shall when required by the Board of Education, submit to

the Board schemes for the exercise of their powers. Further, the Act of 1918 definitely destroyed the old idea of elementary education so far as it applied to the curriculum of the upper classes of the elementary school. It enacted (Section II, 2) that "so much of the definition of the term elementary school in Section III of the Elementary Education Act, 1870, as requires that elementary education shall be the principal part of the education there given shall not apply to such courses of advanced instruction as aforesaid."

These provisions represent a great advance. This part of the Act touches directly children of the age with which this book is attempting to deal, and is concerned with the provision of practical instruction suitable to the ages, abilities, and requirements of these children.

A considerable number of authorities have already accepted the duty outlined by the Act, but the acceptance is by no means universal. It is possible, however, to examine in some detail some of the schemes already in operation in order to ascertain what are their common features, and how far they form a safe guide for future practice.

(ii) The Leicester Scheme

The reorganisation of the elementary schools which has taken place in the City of Leicester is

particularly worthy of study. The problem which faced the authority can briefly be stated. Under the old system it was not possible to make proper arrangements within the elementary school for pupils of different types of ability. Promotion by attainment meant that pupils within a 4–6 years' age range might be found together in the top standards, and the difficulty was aggravated by the need that sometimes arose for amalgamating two or more of these standards under one teacher. Some children stayed in the same class with the same teacher for two or three years. Except in the largest schools, parallel classes were not always possible. These difficulties could be met if a relatively large area and not the school was taken as the unit. If juniors (under 11) and seniors (over 11) were collected in different schools, parallel classes of reasonable size could be constituted in both types of school.

The distinguishing feature of the Leicester scheme is that there are two types of elementary school for children over 11, the first of which consists of intermediate schools for those pupils who qualify for secondary education of the usual kind, but who, for various reasons, are unable to proceed to a secondary school. The head masters of these schools have a free hand in arranging the curriculum, and experiment is possible, but, on the whole, the schools do not differ greatly

from the junior departments of secondary schools. The second type consists of senior schools, established for such other pupils as have a practical rather than an academic turn of mind. The curriculum is simplified. There is more handwork in wood and metal, and the arithmetic taught always has practical applications. A suitable curriculum for the parallel classes in senior schools is only now being worked out.

The salaries of teachers in the intermediate and senior schools are the same, and the best teachers are frequently sent to the senior schools, where they probably have a more difficult task. The senior school is regarded as in no way inferior to the intermediate school, and indeed is an important avenue to promotion. It is recognised that the ability of the children attending it is different in kind rather than in degree from that of those who attend intermediate schools. Some of the children, indeed, may have a genius for music, art, or constructional work.

It is thought inadvisable that any child should remain only with one teacher for a year. Teachers are therefore encouraged to specialise, and to take more than one class in their particular subject. Each child is thus brought into contact with more than one personality. It is recognised that children may reasonably be in different classes for different subjects.

At present the intermediate schools may be mixed, or for boys and girls separately but, since it is considered that the secondary education of boys and girls should proceed on somewhat different lines, a full scheme would provide separate schools for the two sexes.

Since a larger area is treated as the unit, district committees of teachers in all types of school have been established. These committees follow the progress of the child from one school to another, help in deciding the type of child to be promoted, and thrash out the difficult, and often unexplored, problems of the new curriculum.

Recruitment of pupils to the different types of school is conducted as follows: An examination council, consisting of fifteen primary teachers and twelve secondary, technical, and art teachers has been set up. This council appoints two moderators, one from each side, and three pairs of chief examiners. The chief examiners arrange for the setting and marking of the subject papers, and ensure uniformity of marking for each subject, while the moderators co-ordinate the work of the whole. Pupils who are likely to get a 33 per cent. mark are nominated by the teachers to take the examination. Roughly, those who get a 70 per cent. mark are given free places in the secondary schools if they prove their parents' inability to pay fees. Those who obtain a 45–70 per cent. mark

qualify for admission to a secondary or intermediate school.

It is found that the results of the examination thus arranged are almost coincident with those of intelligence tests. No candidate with a high mark is found to have a low intelligence quotient.

The examinations are framed with the intention of preventing special preparation for them. The results are not used to compare the work of individual teachers, or of different schools. Indeed, it is found that they are useless for this purpose, as pupils from large schools have been shown to have a definitely better chance of passing than those from small schools.

The reorganisation was gradual—was begun in the northern district of the city, and continued next year in the western district. The objection of parents to the transfer of children was removed by mass meetings at which the educational advantages of the scheme were explained fully. Some difficulty arose in the northern district because one school had been generally considered to be definitely inferior in social caste. About one hundred parents resisted the transfer of their children to it, and, after eleven months, it was found necessary to prosecute the President of the Parents' Union, who was fined five shillings. This ended the resistance, and the school in

question has quite lost the stigma that formerly attached to it. Parents will willingly send their children over half a mile to an intermediate school in which they have confidence.

Where possible, denominational schools were grouped together, and, in general, denominational managers agreed to the reorganisation. One body of managers in the central area opposed the transfer of the older pupils in their schools, and the Council proceeded to reorganise its own schools without their co-operation. Parents are becoming more inclined to select schools according to the educational advantages which they offer, and without any particular regard to denominational matters.

In the neighbouring county of Leicestershire also a reorganisation of schools has been attempted, though on lines which seem somewhat less hopeful because there is necessarily no differentiation into senior and intermediate school, for the more ambitious scheme is hardly practicable in a rural area with a widely dispersed population. Conferences with managers of small schools were held to discuss the possibility of removing the older children to neighbouring schools not more than two miles distant, which were to be organised with well-attended senior departments. There was a good deal of prejudice against such an arrangement, but the educational advantages

were so obvious that both the managers and the rural population were converted to the idea.

The method of conference with local interests has had valuable results and is an entirely commendable procedure. In general, even the smallest schools were not entirely closed, but retained both their younger children and any invalids and incapables. Economies were effected by placing the reduced schools, many of which are Church of England schools, under an uncertificated teacher—which is obviously not desirable.

The denominational difficulty usually arose when the transfers were suggested, but the recent decision of the National Church Assembly to co-operate on terms in such schemes has been of assistance.

The scheme is now in operation, and its smooth working is much facilitated by the arrangements made to mitigate hardship, such as the supply of transport facilities, and of hot meals at the senior school, and by closing it at an early hour in winter. The interests of displaced teachers have been adequately safeguarded.

(iii) The Nottingham Scheme

Arrangements for dealing with the same problem have also been made at Nottingham. There the problem to be faced may be outlined as follows: There are approximately 4,300 children

in each age-group in the Nottingham elementary schools. About 220 (5 per cent.), a low figure, proceed each year to the secondary schools. The remaining 95 per cent. leave at 14 plus. It is stated that 430 (10 per cent.) might be persuaded ultimately to undertake a full secondary course, and the experience of other towns suggests that this should be an easy matter.

4,704 boys and girls under 12 years of age were examined in 1925, and of these, 1,041 (22 per cent.) obtained half-marks, the standard fixed for higher education.

Raising the age of compulsory attendance to 15 or 16 years was not at the moment within view, and the granting of adequate maintenance to replace wages was not possible. Alternative arrangements for an improved education for those who score half-marks and who nevertheless would have to leave at 14 plus had to be made. It was believed that, the shorter the school life, the more need was there to make the best use of every hour of it.

The 3,663 pupils who failed to get half-marks presented a separate problem which has not yet been thoroughly explored. There were 260 pupils in special schools for mental defectives, or in special "practical" classes for the dull and backward.

The elementary schools were not properly

equipped for the education of children between 11 and 14. As in other towns, the elementary school accommodation was sometimes antiquated, and designed to further merely the old-fashioned type of education. In many of the schools there were five class-rooms only, each accommodating 54–60 pupils, for 6 or 7 mental ages. There was no possibility of providing on the premises instruction in practical subjects (domestic, handicraft, science, or art). The few children in Standards VI, VII, and ex-VII necessitated the teaching of these groups together.

All pupils between the ages of 10¾ and 12 were examined, except those in schools for defectives or in classes for the dull and backward. The uncorrected judgment of the teachers placed 30 per cent. of the entrants in the retarded class. Of these, fourteen obtained half-marks in the examination, and one was eighty-third among the boys.

Ability judged by examination standards is evenly distributed throughout the city, an experience which hardly accords with that of other areas. A slum school and a school in a good artisan neighbourhood submitted equal numbers and obtained about the same number of passes. There was a great variation in the number of passes in schools in the same type of area. Two schools with the same conditions of entry passed

55 and 5½ per cent. respectively. Sometimes the variation was apparently due to difference of teaching. In other schools, where the demand for admission was greater than could be granted, there had been selection at entry according to ability. Schools in better class districts had scheduled areas to prevent influx from a distance and consequent overcrowding, but most schools were not so restricted as to district.

Practically all the examined children were removed to new schools at 11 plus. The objection was advanced that this would have a bad effect on the junior school, but it proved without foundation. It was proposed that accommodation should be provided for 10 per cent. in secondary schools, 30–40 per cent. in central schools, and the remainder in special elementary school buildings.

The education of the pupils who did not score one-third marks in the selective examination is the real problem. They evidently profit little from the instruction hitherto offered them. At 14, most of them are incapable of doing the work of Standard V. Abstract ideas seem too much for their digestion, at any rate when they are administered in large doses. A literary form of education does not appeal to them, and mathematical problems to be worked out on paper in unfamiliar units fail to interest them. They are not mentally deficient, and experience

shows that many of them will be successful in practical life.

The Nottingham scheme claims that the curriculum for the more able pupil should be widened at 11 years, and that it should comprise practical work in mathematics, geography, pure and applied science, wood and iron work for boys, and domestic subjects for girls. It is not so generally recognised that a change of curriculum is also essential for the failures. Segregation in a small class is not the cure, though classes should be small. These pupils should be taught in a school provided with large spaces for gardening and open-air work. The allocation of time should be very similar to that in a central school, but a semi-vocational bias should be given to as many subjects as possible. It should be driven home that school work is really a preparation for life, though not for one special occupation, and that it is therefore worth doing well.

Variety of method should be used to awaken interest, and all the ordinary school subjects should be treated from this standpoint.

(iv) The Carlisle Scheme

We must now consider the details of what may be regarded as one of the pioneer schemes of post-primary education. In Carlisle, before 1922, the local education authority approved, and has

since put into operation, its proposals for a reconstruction of the elementary school system so as to offer to all pupils about the age of 11 an education similar in character and extent to that offered to pupils of similar age in secondary schools. It was proposed to do this by setting apart five or six existing elementary schools as district senior schools and transferring to these all pupils of about 11 who did not proceed to secondary schools, i.e. who proposed to leave on completing the period of compulsory attendance.

Those schools, it was said, would be large enough to provide two or three parallel classes of children of each year, but the curriculum of these classes would be differentiated in accordance with the kind of ability shown by members of the class. Thus one group would take the ordinary secondary school course with one foreign language, while another group would have a curriculum of a practical kind.

In this way the scheme proposed to provide in the district senior schools some alternative education for those pupils who, at the age of 13 or 14, discovered that they desired to remain longer at school, and who had missed transfer to the secondary school at the earlier age.

It was proposed to transfer such children to a secondary school where possible, and to frame the curriculum of some of the classes in the pro-

posed district senior schools so that promising pupils might take up the curriculum of the secondary school at a point appropriate to their age.

It was hoped that the provision in the district senior schools of facilities for secondary education would tend to raise the leaving age, and that the district senior school would, in time, to a certain extent, take the place of the present central school in respect of its aim and leaving age. The existing central school would tend to become a secondary school owing to the rising leaving age of the pupils and the consequent extension of the curriculum.

The secondary schools would be, to a large extent at least, free, and admission would be granted to all children deemed capable of profiting by the education offered, and who, through their parents, would agree to complete the school course.

Every effort would be made to inform parents of the aim of the respective schools, and to keep them occupied to their full capacity.

The scheme was of necessity elastic. It was felt that, if supported by reasonable scholarships and maintenance grants in suitable instances, it would bring an education extending from the junior elementary school to the university or school of technology within the reach of every Carlisle child.

This scheme, with some necessary modifications, has been working, it is claimed, with success. The co-ordination and correlation of all forms of education in the city is shown by the following:

Elementary education:

I. Junior schools for children 5–11 years of age, or in the alternative:

(*a*) Infants' schools (5–8).

(*b*) Preparatory schools (8–11).

II. District senior schools for pupils of 11 and upwards who do not go to the secondary schools and who propose to leave school on completing their period of compulsory attendance.

Higher education:

III. Secondary schools: minor scholarships to 16; intermediate scholarships to 18.

IV. Schools of science and art.

V. Evening classes.

VI. (*a*) The university, (*b*) college of science, (*c*) technical school.

These three, the Leicester, Nottingham, and Carlisle schemes, are typical instances of the reorganisation and regrading of the elementary schools that have taken place as a direct result of the Education Act of 1918. The features common to them show that beginning at the age-group 11, there is a complete reorientation of the schools, that children are sorted out according to

the types of ability, that curricula are arranged to suit the type of ability, emphasis being placed on practical work, and that the classification of pupils is made according to the results of a qualifying and not of a competitive examination. The results of this examination are not used for the purpose of assessing the work of the elementary schools. It is claimed for these arrangements that they will make for greater efficiency, avoidance of waste, and an effective attempt to fit the child to its right educational environment.

Other Examples

In other districts, such as Durham, where the same problem faced the local authority, the solution has been sought along other, though not entirely dissimilar, lines. "Higher tops" are an attempt to provide advanced instruction for children above 11 in their original school. In the county of Durham "higher tops" are established on a considerable scale, for there are more than fifty schools conducting them, although in the more crowded areas of the county central schools are also to be found. There are other areas, e.g. Carnarvonshire, where other schools in the neighbourhood contribute to "higher tops" or senior classes. The provision of a teacher for each standard has been made possible, not only here, but elsewhere, by combining the top

standards of two or more schools—and it has also been possible by combining a sufficient number of these standards to establish parallel classes. London is now rearranging its schools in some areas so as to provide senior departments.

Whatever has been the project adopted—and the number of experiments made has been fairly large—the general aim has been, not merely to cater for the brighter pupils, but to make the best possible provision for the average and even the subnormal children.

CHAPTER VII

THE PROBLEM IN OTHER ENGLISH-SPEAKING COUNTRIES

CHAPTER VII

THE PROBLEM IN OTHER ENGLISH-SPEAKING COUNTRIES

(i) Scotland

Scottish education does not present the same anomalies as English. There is a nearer approach to a really unified system of schools, and grant is paid to local education authorities in respect of all schools roughly on the same basis with due allowance for variations in staffing. It is true that, until recently, Scottish schools were classified as primary, intermediate, and secondary according to the length of the course given in them, but this classification did not mean that there was any essential difference between the education given in them in its lower ranges. They were graded rather according as they provided, or did not provide, extensive facilities for pupils above the age of 11. The pupils in each type of school were classified very accurately on a common system according to the work they were actually doing and the course they individually pursued.

It has been noted in the course of this report that it is hardly possible in England and Wales to determine how many pupils in elementary

schools were really following a co-ordinated four-year course from 11 upwards, or how many pupils in secondary schools were doing work of an elementary standard only. In Scotland no such difficulties arise, for pupils in all schools are classified according as their work is primary, intermediate, or post-intermediate. An accurate survey is therefore possible, and the adoption of a similar and not less logical classification is urgently needed south of the Tweed.

Table XIV shows the distribution in 1922–3 of Scottish pupils in age-groups from 11–16 according to the type of school.

The proportion of pupils of these ages in secondary schools to those in the intermediate and primary schools was 1 to 4·9. The corresponding proportion in England and Wales was 1 to 7·1.

These figures are interesting, but they may be misleading. It will appear later that nearly half the pupils in Scottish secondary schools were doing primary work, and that 26,663 of them were under the age of 11. No figures were available for the number of pupils in the preparatory departments of English secondary schools or of those in the senior school who were really doing primary work, but the proportion in Scotland, where the tradition of the one school is firmly established, and where it is comparatively

TABLE XIV

	Primary.	Intermediate.	Secondary.	Special.	Continued.
11–12 .	78,845	6,010	6,178	1,042	—
12–13 .	73,726	7,376	9,754	1,014	—
13–14 .	64,902	8,651	15,841	955	—
14–15 .	20,077	5,065	13,705	654	19,383
15–16 .	1,290	2,234	9,580	414	16,000(?)
Totals .	238,840	29,336	55,058	4,079	35,000(?)

For comparison the corresponding figures for 1924–5 after the reorganisation had been effected may be given.

TABLE XV

	Primary.	Secondary.		Special.
		Preparatory Department.	Secondary Department.	
11–12 . .	78,544	11,056	794	1,144
12–13 . .	73,157	8,984	8,708	1,830
13–14 . .	62,746	4,186	20,401	1,051
14–15 . .	19,559	907	17,547	766
15–16 . .	1,443	83	10,524	521
	235,449	25,216	57,974	5,342

common to admit pupils to the preparatory departments of secondary schools at the age of 6, was certainly heavier.

Nor must it be assumed that all the Scottish secondary schools would conform to the conditions imposed by the English regulations either in respect of buildings, equipment, floor space per pupil, or size of classes. In Scotland, schools of all types have been treated on the same basis,

with appropriate modifications as the pupils become older and the work more advanced. There is reason to believe that one result of the block grant covering all types of institution is that the conditions under which primary courses are conducted are frequently better than in England, and that the regulations that apply to the more advanced work are less exacting.

Secondary schools in Scotland are defined as those "providing at least a five-years' course of suitable education leading to the successful presentation at the Leaving Certificate Examination of such proportion of the pupils as may seem to the department to be reasonable." They are governed less by regulation than by recommendation, and are easily distinguishable from the English schools in this respect. For example, they should have a playing-field, and most of them have, but this provision is not compulsory, as in England. Roughly, the same conditions apply, whatever the nominal classification of the school in which primary or post-primary work is undertaken. Primary work in secondary schools may, in fact, be conducted under somewhat better physical conditions, and teachers of higher qualifications may be available for it; but if this is so, it is accidental, and is not due to any special regulations.

It is important to note, however, that 1 in 9·1

(12·3 per cent.) of the school population in Scotland between the ages of 11 and 16 were (1923–4) in definitely organised intermediate schools. This was nearly double the proportion of elementary school pupils in England and Wales believed to be in central schools and departments at that time. The comparison is significant, not merely because the intermediate schools have now been transferred to the secondary regulations, but because every one of these pupils, even before the reorganisation, had the possibility of at least beginning an organised course without changing his school.

The standard of qualification for teaching in Scotland, even in the primary school, is high, and recent changes have tended to raise it. No grant is paid anywhere in respect of uncertificated teachers. Since 1926 every male candidate for training must possess either a university degree or the diploma of a central institution.

With regard to the size of classes, sixty in average attendance is still permitted in theory, but this number is seldom attained. New classrooms in primary schools and departments must be designed for not more than fifty scholars, or for forty in advanced divisions. In new secondary schools classes of forty only are permitted for the first three years of the course, and classes of thirty in subsequent years. Over large areas in Scot-

land, because of the scattered population, the tendency is for classes to be too small rather than too large.

More light is thrown on the relative efficiency of Scottish education when we consider the distribution of pupils by the type of course followed :

TABLE XVI

1922–3.	Primary.	Intermediate.	Post-Intermediate.
11–12 . . .	90,521	522	—
12–13 . . .	84,190	6,666	—
13–14 . . .	72,240	17,151	3
14–15 . . .	22,083	16,663	101
15–16 . . .	1,499	10,438	1,167
Totals. . .	270,533	51,440	1,271
Percentages . .	83·7	15·9	0·4

In this table the primary pupils include those who were taking organised elementary courses, the character of which needs explanation to English readers. The ambition of every pupil in a Scottish primary school or department was to reach the so-called "qualifying stage" as soon as possible. In a sense, this, as tested by examination, marked the conclusion of his primary education, and he was then able to enter on a "supplementary course," which might continue for one, two, or three years, and for which "merit" certificates were awarded; or he might, if his

ability were suitable in degree and kind, be transferred to an intermediate course in the same or another school. In 1922–3 no less than 8,655 primary pupils were taking a foreign language as part of their supplementary course, and practically the whole of the primary schools were organising supplementary courses of at least two years in duration. All the figures go to show that education of an intermediate type is developed to perhaps a 50 per cent. greater extent in Scotland than in England. This tendency to organise intelligently the upper ranges of the primary school is a most remarkable and valuable feature of the Scottish system. Since the Act of 1918, and as a direct consequence of the provisions of that Act, definite steps, which have been already discussed, have been taken to create a similar organisation in certain English districts, and this may be regarded as the first hesitant approach to that reorganisation of education for children over 11 which this report desires to advance.

Since 1923 most interesting changes have been introduced into the administration of Scottish schools, which should result in a much closer correlation between them, and which, at the same time, should permit a freedom of experiment most desirable on general educational grounds. The first move was made by the abolition of the qualifying examination conducted

by His Majesty's inspectors, and its replacement by simple, informal local arrangements under the control of the education authority. There are areas, however, where it is still found necessary to have a formal written examination, especially where the provision of secondary schools is inadequate, and there is a keen competition for secondary school places.

This was followed by the abolition of the supplementary courses with their merit certificates awarded annually, and the substitution of "advanced division" courses, leading in two years to the Day School Leaving Certificate (Lower) or, in three years, to the Day School Leaving Certificate (Higher), the standard required for the latter being, if anything, rather more exacting than that formerly required for the Intermediate Certificate. These certificates are awarded on the recommendation of His Majesty's inspectors, and the basis of the award is the school record of the pupil, and the teacher's estimate of his abilities, supplemented by such further investigation as may be considered desirable from time to time. For the school record three internal tests must be imposed each year and the details of them must be kept.

It will be seen that these measures have freed the Scottish schools to a large extent from external examinations, in the sense that the

written examinations, except for one general paper in the Day School Certificate (Higher) are conducted by the school and not by the department. The only purely departmental test retained is the examination for the Leaving Certificate, which marks the completion of a full school education to about 17 or 18, at the end of the old post-intermediate course. It is evidence of the underlying unity of Scottish education throughout that even the public schools very largely take this departmental examination, and, to this extent, accommodate themselves to the national system.

Some English educationists have remarked with some concern the tendency to impose a general test on all elementary school pupils at about the age of 11, or on all schools from the fifth standard upwards, fearing that it might lead to the special preparation of pupils, or to unfair comparisons between school and school. They have hoped also that the central schools might preserve that relative freedom from examinations that they now enjoy. Though considerable progress has been made in framing tests conducted largely by the schools themselves, and therefore free from these objections, it seems that the serious problems involved might be solved on the principles now operating in Scotland, which have the further advantage that they might be applied

equally to all three types of English school, and that they would inevitably tend to bring them into closer general relationship.

One important effect of the reorganisation outlined here is that the intermediate schools of Scotland are now classed as secondary, and are administered under the regulations for secondary schools. The great gain is that the old irrational distinction of nomenclature, so misleading to the general public, has been swept away.

A further effect of the reorganisation of courses, and of the assimilation of advanced division courses in primary schools to the Leaving Certificate courses in secondary schools, has been that the transference of pupils from one to the other at all ages has been immensely facilitated. "The general aim," says the most recent Report,[1] "has been to staff the advanced division with teachers as highly qualified as those appointed to secondary schools." The tendency to provide new and better accommodation for the advanced division has been notably stimulated, and has been helped by the removal of restrictions upon capital expenditure.

While the net of secondary education has been widened, and so many more scholars have been included in its scope, the curriculum has been

[1] Report of Committee of the Privy Council on Education in Scotland.

correspondingly enlarged, and a large number of practical subjects have been included in it. This broadening of the field of work has also affected the advanced divisions of primary schools, and represents a tendency common to all countries where the secondary system is expanding.

(ii) Australia

The educational position in Scotland has been dealt with at some length. The evidence shows that recent changes have deepened and broadened the stream of secondary education there, without seriously impairing the old, historical conception of the common school. A survey of the English-speaking countries overseas discloses, in many instances, similarities to the Scottish system, due, no doubt, to the early influence of Scottish emigrants. Australia, in particular, follows Scottish precedent very closely, and the examination for a permit to enrol in the high or intermediate school is an almost exact equivalent to the Scottish " qualifying stage." It is followed, as in Scotland, by five years at a secondary school, leading to a leaving certificate examination.

Another similarity between the two countries is the prevalence of small rural schools, and the care which is taken to secure qualified teachers for them. In New South Wales, for example, a full-time school is established whenever twenty

pupils can be gathered together, and if two groups of ten children can be formed within a reasonable distance its place is taken by two half-time schools. Where a family is altogether isolated a peripatetic teacher with a tent or a caravan will visit it at intervals, or a correspondence course of instruction may be instituted. Teachers, who are all civil servants, are required to serve four years in country districts before seeking a post in town.

Naturally, the uneven distribution of the population outside the large towns makes it difficult to organise elaborate secondary schools, but a real attempt has been made to provide secondary facilities for all those capable of profiting by them. Excluding the high schools proper, the problem has been attacked in four different ways. There are :

1. A number of composite primary schools, with a few secondary pupils.

2. District schools with primary and secondary departments.

3. Superior public full-time continuation schools taking classes 7–9 from 12 years of age onwards for a course which develops a commercial, technical, or domestic bias.

4. Intermediate high schools which take pupils at 12 for the first three years of a normal secondary course.

The State high schools were freed from fees in 1912, but a small fee was reimposed in 1923. Residential facilities are widely developed at these schools, and a large number of scholarships and bursaries were established by the Act of 1912 on a generous scale :

> For the first three years of the course there were provided fees, books, and maintenance grant of £12 for home students and of £40 for residential students.
>
> For the fourth and fifth years respectively the grants were £18 and £24 for home students and £50 for residential students.

For the State of New South Wales, the figures for 1922 show that, of a total primary enrolment of 273,294, 10·3 per cent. of the total number enrolled follow post-primary courses.

In the cities part-time education in the evening is the rule, and a two-years' course is designed for those who have left the primary school at the age of 14.

(iii) Canada

The administration of education in the Dominion of Canada varies from province to province. The English model is followed in Ontario and Saskatchewan, where the primary schools and high schools are administered by separate boards, and where the problem of transfer to another governing authority arises

when rural high schools increase their attendance and reach a definitely secondary status. In Manitoba, Alberta, Quebec, and the maritime provinces this dual control is unknown, and the American system of four grades beyond the primary course is usual. Education is free and compulsory everywhere except in Quebec, which prefers to follow French precedents, charging fees in most schools, and concluding the voluntary primary course usually at 13. In Prince Edward Island compulsion extends only to 13, and in New Brunswick to 14, subject to local action. In Nova Scotia attendance is compulsory to 14 for town children and to 16 for country children. Elsewhere 14 used to be the usual leaving age, except in Ontario, where, some years ago, it was raised to 15, with exemption to those who had passed the matriculation examination, or who held a home permit, or an employment certificate. More recently, the age has been raised to 15 in Saskatchewan and British Columbia and to 16 in Alberta. Obviously the Dominion in general, with the example of so many American States before it, is, in this particular, setting a higher standard than has hitherto been attained in the Home Country.

Further, secondary education is free in Ontario, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Alberta, and Saskatchewan, and fees are small elsewhere. The

Canadian aspiration is well stated by the Director of Education for Nova Scotia, and might well be taken as the motto of English reformers: "A pupil from the remotest region is entitled to study in a schoolroom up to the end of the high school programme."

It is easy to understand what this involves in a country of extremely small schools, but the steps which have been taken to meet the difficulties might fittingly form the model for English rural areas, where, indeed, those difficulties are not present in such an aggravated form. In Ontario 55 per cent. of all the schools have less than twenty pupils. It is not possible, at the moment, to attempt any elaborate scheme of consolidation. The older pupils are, to some extent, assembled in high schools administered by the elementary board. As the population increases, and the attendance at these schools grows, their control is transferred to the secondary authority. Eight or ten of them are so transferred each year, but, even before transfer, they are in effect giving a secondary education. It is noticeable that in these schools the predominantly rural bias does not seem to appeal, and there is a demand in some areas for a commercial or more specifically urban curriculum. The raising of the school age naturally makes it easier to organise these rural high schools. In 1920–1, before the Act,

there were 42,551 pupils in secondary schools. Two years later the number had increased to 60,395, so that about 30 per cent. of all pupils were passing to the secondary school.

As the secondary school draws more and more largely upon the elementary school pupils, an insistent demand arises for wider ranges of instruction "more especially for courses which, while giving attention to the essentials of a general education, will prepare young people directly for employment." It is said that in Ontario there are now twenty-one day vocational schools, and that, in spite of this development, the evening classes have continued to prosper. The vocational secondary school, here as elsewhere, is an inevitable outcome of making secondary education more general. The same effect may be noted in an even more marked degree in the United States of America, and it is probable that the same growth of vocational courses will accompany any marked growth of secondary education in our own country.

Throughout Canada there is a tendency for the elementary course to be reduced from 8 to 7, or even to 6 years, and for the last one or two grades (age 12–14) to be incorporated in a secondary course. In Vancouver "an earnest attempt is being made to give junior high school pupils a training somewhat different from that which

they receive in the elementary or secondary schools. Instruction in class-room subjects is given for one half day, and instruction in the manual arts is given during the other half." In Canadian schools care is taken that a pupil who has completed Grades 8 and 9 shall be able to proceed without any sharp break to higher work, but in the junior high school, if he should desire to leave after Grade 9, he will have had a course "much more rounded and complete" than if he had remained in an elementary school.

It will be convenient here to summarise these tendencies, because they represent the obvious line of educational advance.

1. A very general tendency to raise the age of compulsory school attendance to 15, or even 16, with suitable exemptions; and to provide compulsory continuation courses up to the age of 18 for those who leave before 16.

2. A consequent increase in the secondary school population.

3. A corresponding widening of the secondary school curriculum which tends to become more practical.

4. The growth of rural high schools which become secondary schools as the attendance increases.

5. The shortening of the elementary school course in some towns by two years, and the

super-imposition of the junior high school, giving a secondary course for three years. (This corresponds roughly to the reorganisation of the elementary school for pupils above 11 which is now being undertaken in some parts of England.)

6. The promise which these tendencies offer of a general secondary education for all young persons in the near future.

(iv) New Zealand

The arrangements for educational administration in New Zealand are not very dissimilar from those in Australia and Canada. There are secondary, technical, high, and primary schools. In the wider rural areas district high schools provide secondary facilities at the upper end of the primary department. Ordinary technical schools provide for continued education for those who complete the compulsory school period and desire to enter employment at once. The compulsory age for attendance is between 7 and 14. It is noteworthy that in New Zealand roughly 50 per cent. of the children leaving the primary school take up some form of full-time education. It is also a striking fact that in one year (1923) of 12,500 children in the publicly provided secondary schools of New Zealand about 10,500 were free-placers.

(v) United States of America

In the United States there is no central educational authority, for the Bureau of Education merely collects information and gives advice. The State is the unit. The details of administration devolve upon smaller authorities—the district, the country, or the township—which enjoy considerable power. In general, there is a tendency to enlarge the administrative unit. Cities of any size are usually autonomous for education purposes, and here the expenditure is higher and the system more efficient. It is natural that this system, which sometimes entrusts responsibility to very small local areas, should result in a great diversity of practice and effectiveness.

It is impossible to treat the United States as a single area, though certain principles of school administration, such as the division into Grades, are generally adopted. In particular, the qualifications of teachers vary widely from State to State. So backward are some of the States that more than 11,000,000 rural pupils are taught by untrained teachers, and more than 3,000,000 pupils in one-teacher schools are under the control of teachers who have not themselves finished a high-school course.

The traditions of different areas also differ.

In the South, with its aristocratic traditions and a large negro element, popular education tends to be relatively backward. In those States that were once English colonies there was originally a sharp division between the education of the rulers and that of the masses. In the Middle and Western States the system has been democratic from the beginning. Everywhere the system bears traces of its origin, which affect differently in each area the size of the administrative unit, the age of leaving school, and the importance attached to educational matters generally. There is ample evidence of this in the expenditure of different States per head of the school population, which ranges from 127·26 dollars in California to 14·08 dollars in Georgia. The figures of illiteracy point in the same direction. There are eight times as many illiterates between 10 and 15 in rural as in urban areas. Illiteracy is low, less than 2 per cent., in such States as Iowa, Nebraska, Oregon, Idaho, Washington, Kansas, and Minnesota; but it is over 15 per cent. in Arizona, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina. Nor is this illiteracy due to immigration, for in 1920 native-born illiterates numbered 3,084,733.

Two important factors emerge from this consideration of American conditions. Since each State possesses practically complete autonomy, in

some few of them conditions are altogether deplorable. This may be due, as in the South, to the presence of a vast negro population, low-paid labour, and an aristocratic tradition that cares little for the education of working-class children, or, as in certain rural areas, to the physical and geographical difficulties of organising schools, or of training teachers in adequate numbers. On the other hand, many States have set a standard in secondary and continued education which is a challenge to the rest of the civilised world.

In considering the rapid development of secondary education in certain States, it must be pointed out that the figures given are for the whole country, and that the growth in the more favoured areas is therefore even greater than they would suggest. Even with this limitation, the progress shown is so prodigious as to be almost incredible.

Between 1910 and 1920 the number of pupils in the high schools of the United States increased from one million to two millions, and in 1924 probably numbered 2,750,000, or 3,000,000 if the privately owned schools are included. (The population of the U.S.A. is roughly 120,000,000.) The provision of high school accommodation has been an accelerating process. So long ago as 1918 H. R. Bonner was able to claim that " one high school has been established

each day in each calendar year since 1890—a high school a day for twenty-eight years."

In 1922 graduates from the high school numbered 284,674. Forty-six per cent. of those entering high schools remained during the fourth year or up to about the age of 17. This figure had increased from 38·5 per cent. in 1910, notwithstanding the enormous increase in the total attendance in the interval; 14·6 per cent. of all high school pupils were in the fourth year against 11·7 per cent. in 1907.

With the greater provision of high school accommodation there has been an extensive "vocationalisation" of the high school curriculum, and this has been induced by the varied abilities, needs, and demands of a much augmented high school population. As the system grows, and as more and more children are brought into it, it may be expected that this process will continue. It seems to be the logical corollary of secondary education for all.

It must not be assumed that even in the most favoured areas all elementary school pupils proceed to the high school. The problem of those who cease their full-time education at 14 is there, though it is far less urgent than in England. Obviously it is these pupils who need a differentiated and more practical curriculum, and here analogies with the English problem are met. It

is significant that everywhere we have evidence that a general reorganisation is being attempted at 11 or 12 years, and that the new state and city programmes almost always assume that in future the elementary course will finish at this age, and that, consequently, junior high schools will be provided for all pupils. The following diagram explains, first, how the logic of circumstances is destroying the old American tradition of 12 grades (8 primary, 4 secondary) leading to a college course, and, second, the new scheme by which the elementary course is shortened and a secondary type of schooling is begun at an earlier age.

<table>
<tr><td>Age.</td><td colspan="12">6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Old Scheme .</td><td colspan="8">Elementary (8 grades)</td><td colspan="4">Secondary (4 grades)</td></tr>
<tr><td>New Scheme .</td><td colspan="6">Elementary (6 grades)</td><td colspan="3">Junior High School (3 grades)</td><td colspan="3">Senior High School (3 grades)</td></tr>
</table>

CHAPTER VIII

A CRITICISM AND SOME PROPOSALS

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The Double Problem

Our statistical survey has revealed that the educational provision for adolescents in England and Wales has at present two cardinal defects. In the first place, 1,900,000 pupils now in elementary schools need for their proper education schools of quite a new type, at least as well organised and equipped as those central schools and departments that now supply the needs of some 107,600 at the same age.

In the second place, 300,000 pupils are completely lost to the educational system when they reach the age of 14, and an additional 220,000 when they reach the age of 15. If we assume that only full-time education in the day-time can give children of these ages their full opportunity of development, and yield the maximum of benefit to the nation, we find that 420,000 lose this opportunity at 14, and another 190,000 at 15. Ultimately both these age-groups, as is already the case in many parts of Canada and the United States of America,

must be brought into the day school, if this country is to supply the groundwork of education that is now increasingly regarded as necessary in civilised communities, and this will involve an increase of over 1,000,000 in the day-school population. The Consultative Committee of the Board of Education has recommended that a preliminary advance, the raising of the leaving age to 15, should be effected by 1932. This would mean the filling of 420,000 school places.

In brief, this is the double problem that confronts the country, and a far-seeing policy would deal with both its aspects at once. When the overdue reorganisation of the upper ranges of the elementary school life is undertaken, a further age-group should be compulsorily included, so that organised four-year courses after the age of 11 may become general, and the classification of schools into a variety of types, or alternatively the institution of parallel classes in non-selective schools, may be facilitated.

All other defects are insignificant beside this numerical deficiency, and most of the other changes which we have to recommend are consequent upon the profound alterations that supplying it will involve. When a system of universal education for all children from 11 to 15 is being elaborated, and is being recognised in a real sense, for the first time, as post-primary or

secondary throughout, innumerable questions of curriculum, of transfer, and of co-ordination in working and control will inevitably be raised. Of these the most controversial will concern the relation of the secondary schools of the new type, with their more practical interests and their lower leaving age, which the Consultative Committee agrees to call "Modern Schools," to the existing secondary schools, which the same committee calls "Grammar Schools." What will be their respective places in the educational system, and what proportion of the elementary school pupils should be transferred to each of them?

Hitherto the attention of educational reformers has been mainly turned to the extension of the secondary school system as we at present understand it, to securing a more uniform development of it throughout the country, and to the removal of barriers which prevent the able children of poor parents from utilising its advantages. Here a great deal still remains to be done.

Insufficiency of Secondary School Provision

It is generally agreed that the number of secondary schools in the present restricted sense of the term is still lamentably insufficient. Less than 60,000 elementary school pupils are transferred annually to secondary schools, or 9·1 per cent. of any given age-group. We believe that

25 per cent., or two and a half times as many, could be with advantage so transferred. This would make the annual transfer about 150,000.

It will be seen from the figures printed below that the scale on which secondary education (in the narrower sense of the term) is provided varies widely from area to area. Such figures must, of course, be read subject to the qualification that some of those authorities, whose provision of secondary school places appears small, make up for it, to a greater or less degree, by concentrating on the development of other forms of post-primary education. In London, for example, a considerable number of children are attending central schools who in Bradford would be attending secondary schools. With this caution, we give the figures of secondary school pupils per 1,000 of the population in certain areas:

	Per cent.		Per cent.
Wallasey .	20·8	Sunderland .	4·3
Bradford .	19·5	West Ham .	4·2
Ipswich .	18·3	Rochdale .	4·0
Peterborough .	17·3	Smethwick .	3·8

For Middlesex, Surrey, and London the corresponding figures were 13·4, 12·6, and 7·6.

The number of pupils annually transferred

from elementary to secondary schools may also be expressed as a percentage of the 10–11 age-group in the area, as follows :

	Per cent.		Per cent.
Bradford.	23·3	Dudley	3·8
Halifax	19·3	Sunderland	3·5
Wallasey.	18·5	West Ham	3·1
Southend	17·6	Smethwick	2·3

For Middlesex, Surrey, and London the corresponding percentages were 13·4, 9·3, and 6·6.

The difference is partly due to the characters of the districts in question and partly to differences in the policies of local education authorities What has been done in Bradford, Halifax, and Wallasey could be done, if thought expedient, in most English towns.

The Handicap of Poverty

Besides the unequal distribution of secondary school accommodation in different parts of the country and the physical difficulty in reaching any secondary school at all in many rural areas, there are other barriers to the entry of qualified pupils. Of these the pressure of poverty is the chief. There is no need here to examine its reactions in detail, as they have been most

admirably and fully discussed by Mr. Kenneth Lindsay in his recent book, *Social Progress and Educational Waste*. The facts in brief are as follows :

First, free places under the present system are most readily secured by pupils from good homes in middle-class and artisan districts. The child of the unskilled labourer, living in a poverty-stricken wilderness of mean streets, is hopelessly handicapped. The average of intelligence among such children, measured by any of the ordinary tests, is perceptibly lower ; but it is recognised that intelligence quotients are influenced by such factors as physical well-being and nutrition, in which from the very first the children of the poor are at a disadvantage. The opportunity for study, also, varies with the circumstances of the home, and little can be expected from a working-class family that lives in one or at most two rooms. The parents are themselves educational factors of great importance, and the children of the unskilled are too often adversely affected by this most potent of all influences. They may be in every way retarded rather than helped by the people they meet, and by their decivilising environment at home and in the street.

This is a problem that may only be mitigated by a gradual elimination of poverty itself. Meanwhile, there can be no doubt of its reality. Mr.

Lindsay's evidence is conclusive. "One school in Lewisham," he said, "wins as many scholarships as the whole of Bermondsey put together; seven poor London boroughs have an average of 1·3 scholars per 1,000 children in average attendance, as against 5·3 in seven better-placed boroughs. . . . At Bradford 75 per cent. of the children qualified in a school situated in a well-to-do district, while 34 per cent. qualified in a poor district."

More Free Places Needed

A comparison between Bradford and certain other areas shows that this handicap, while it still inevitably exists, is not so great when the door of opportunity is opened more widely. The caution that there are other forms of post-primary education besides that conventionally known as secondary must be repeated. But, when due allowance is made for this fact, it still remains true that the unusually generous position in Bradford of secondary school places, 87 per cent. of which are free, has effects of great social and educational importance. The result is seen in a largely increased proportion of pupils drawn from the families of skilled and unskilled workmen, a longer average school life, and in a high percentage of pupils taking up industrial occupations when their secondary school days are over.

Nor is there any evidence that Bradford is providing secondary education on too extensive a scale. "The inspectors," says Mr. Lindsay, "are satisfied that there is no measurable indication of inability to profit from pupils in secondary schools." Surely this is conclusive evidence that at least 25 per cent. of all elementary school pupils in the country might profit by secondary education of the present type, a doctrine that competent psychologists have long maintained.

Indeed, the percentage must be even higher, for not all the pupils in Bradford who qualify for free places are able to take them up. The barrier of poverty still remains.

The Need for Maintenance Allowances

Of those who reach the qualifying standard in Bradford only 40 per cent. actually enter the secondary school. Those who qualify at an early age are the most eager to accept, since they can complete the minimum four-year course without trenching too much upon their life in industry. Of the 200 pupils, many of them older children, heading the list, and to whose parents special letters are sent, no less than 110 refused the offer of a free place.

This proves beyond a doubt that, however many free places in secondary schools are provided, they cannot be utilised to the best advantage

unless adequate maintenance is supplied. Probably the percentage of refusals would be less if the school age were raised generally to 15, but under any system it is of vital importance that the barrier of poverty should be swept away, and that the family should be helped to maintain the older children who remain at school.

The Obstacle of Fees

In Bradford, with its 87 per cent. of free places, the obstacle of fees has been reduced to reasonable dimensions, but in most other parts of the country the small number of free places serves to deprive many of the best-qualified candidates of secondary education. In London some of these take advantage of the central school system, but in other areas even that avenue is barred to them.

It must be remembered that any school place reserved for a fee-payer at a fixed fee may possibly exclude a more capable and more intelligent pupil. So far as the ordinary workman is concerned this school place might not exist, since it is hardly available for any of his children. It is true that about 27,000 ex-elementary school pupils enter secondary schools as fee-payers each year, but these are often, as is shown by their age of entry, those who have not succeeded in reaching the standard required for a free place,

and only a small proportion of them probably are drawn from the ranks of the skilled and unskilled workers. In the absence of fees these school places might be used to better advantage.

The Abolition of Fees

The abolition of fees for secondary education has already been recommended—though not unanimously—by the Departmental Committee on Scholarships and Free Places in 1920. The immediate cost of this is easy to calculate, and we have the calculation of that committee; it would be higher now, as since then fees have been increased almost everywhere; there would be a saving in the cost of administration, not only because the collection of fees costs something, but because investigations into parents' income would be confined to cases in which maintenance might be necessary. The feeling in favour of fees is not wholly to be condemned, so far as it rests on the spirit of independence which makes people desire to provide for their own needs; but the case for their abolition, in such a community as ours, seems to us to be overwhelming. If the fee in any school (except proprietary schools) paid for the cost of education, or, if the variation in the amount of the fee payable in different schools answered to a variation in the value of the education given, the

parent who pays fees would at least know what he was doing. As it is, he suffers from two illusions: unless he is exceptionally well informed he thinks that he is paying for what he gets, and he thinks that the more he pays the better he is served. Not the least of the advantages that would follow from the abolition of fees would be the disappearance of these illusions and of the encouragement that they give to a disastrous illusion of social superiority. We believe that the time has come when public education, at least to the end of the adolescent stage, should be a charge upon the community, to which every member of the community will contribute according to his means, precisely as the other essential public services are. We see no reason to distrust the good sense of the people of this country, or to suppose that they will not quickly reconcile themselves to paying for the education of their children through rates and taxes, just as they reconciled themselves to paying for their army, navy, their police, their fire brigades, and for the water that they drink.

Other arguments in favour of the abolition of fees, or at least of a heavy reduction in the proportion of places for which fees must be paid, are the facts that, at least in the age-groups we are considering, many fee-payers are admitted at a later age than those who come in with free

places, and not necessarily at the beginning of the school year, and that their school life is on the average shorter. Such pupils, if admitted on a lower qualification, tend to render school organisation more difficult; they dislocate the classes to some extent by entering at irregular intervals, and they reduce the number of pupils in the upper forms and advanced courses by leaving before their secondary education is completed. These irregularities have been considerably reduced by the Board of Education. They could be still further reduced by the abolition of fees, which would also help in the obliteration of class distinctions within the school, and consequently within the nation at large.

Post-primary Education within the Elementary System

So much for the schools that are recognised as secondary, and are administered by the Counties and County Boroughs. But our analysis has shown that there are 107,000 pupils in central schools and departments not so recognised, whose average ability is comparable with that of the secondary school pupil, and who are undoubtedly doing secondary work, in the last two years of the course perhaps of a rather more realistic character, as they are unhampered by

the rather inelastic regulations that apply to secondary schools proper. The school life of these pupils is no shorter than was common in recognised secondary schools not so long ago. Though administratively elementary, such education is in reality a particular kind of secondary education, and it is desirable that it should be recognised as such. There is no obvious reason why central schools and departments should not be included formally in the secondary system, as they would be in Scotland, though this might involve the loosening of some of the present secondary regulations, so that their relative freedom, especially in curricula, might be retained.

So far as these central schools and departments are concerned, the present nomenclature, with its suggestion of inferiority, is misleading to the public, and an injustice to the pupils themselves, who find it a handicap when seeking employment. They need, and should secure, the admission to secondary status; and even this would be but a half-way step to a fully co-ordinated, unitary system of secondary education.

We have seen that for every pupil in a certain school or department there are a large number of others who are equally entitled to similar educational facilities, and, if these facilities were created, they would have an equal claim to inclu-

sion in the secondary system. Further, we have suggested that all normal children at about 11 plus need schools of a new type, adapted to their varying needs and capacities, and in particular with a provision for practical activities superior to that found in the ordinary elementary school. We are led, in fact, towards the ideal of a universal system of post-primary education, to every part of which the name "secondary" may properly be applied.

The Post-primary Curriculum

The real difficulty, hitherto, has been the limitation of the word "secondary" to a particular type of curriculum, when it should be more properly applied to the education of all pupils after the primary stage.

The curriculum still followed between the ages of 10 and 14 in recognised secondary schools is somewhat uniform. The method by which it is treated also tends often to be somewhat highly standardised, and there is always a danger that the requirements of the first school examination may be kept too prominently in view, and that the more practical and artistic subjects which are not usually tested in this examination may take a subordinate place. There is no doubt that the exigencies of the leaving examination have served

to raise considerably the standard of teaching in the worse schools, and to secure at least a minimum standard of efficiency throughout the system. On the other hand, it has tended somewhat to restrict experiment or exploration beyond the boundaries of the syllabus. No secondary school need necessarily submit its pupils to this examination, and any school is permitted to frame a syllabus of its own; but in practice the work tends to be stereotyped, and the more efficiently the examinations are organised the less easy is it to escape from this tendency. The consequence is that in general there is a marked uniformity both of subject-matter and method.

Though the rule to which the secondary schools conform has been widened and liberalised in recent years, no final perfection can be claimed for it, and, however satisfactory it may be as a working plan for some pupils, it can hardly pretend to a general contact with the actualities of the world outside the school, or to meet fully the varied interests, ambitions, and desires of many who are at present compelled to follow it.

Even for the best brains there is no reason why we should not develop, as Mr. H. G. Wells suggests, "the new system of special schools, studios, and laboratories for arts, sciences, languages, and every sort of technical work." "The style of work," he continues, "will be

new. We want nothing of the class-room methods, the 'prep,' the recitations, and all the other monkish devices the old schools have preserved." While not assenting to this wholesale condemnation of the accepted machinery, or attempting to estimate the new possibilities that modern methods of book production, visual representation, and speech transmission promise to us, we may agree that even now there is room for a greater elasticity of matter and of its treatment in secondary schools.

This problem of liberalising the curriculum, and of bringing it into closer relation with the realities of the world and the interests of the pupil, will become ever more urgent as secondary education extends and includes a larger proportion of the adolescent population within its range. Its fundamental importance has not hitherto been felt in England, mainly because only a relatively small number of children, and these of more than average intellectual endowment, have entered the secondary schools. We believe that at least 25 per cent. of the elementary school population are adapted to follow at the right age secondary courses of the present general types with benefit and success, or three times as many pupils as now follow them. But when we inquire what type of course is most adapted to the needs of average children, or of the 25 per cent. who

are distinctly below the normal average as judged by written examination or by the accepted tests of intelligence, we enter upon a region that has hitherto been most inadequately explored.

The weakness of our school system has been the failure to devise a post-primary curriculum that will seize and retain the interest of the pupil who, according to traditional standards, is accounted ordinary or backward. This large group, for whom letters and formal reasoning have slight attraction, must contain many with ability of another kind, which, for example, in the constructive manipulation of materials, or in the practice of the arts, may amount to genius. In the ill-equipped elementary school of the past these abilities have had little chance to develop. A new encouragement in a more favourable environment must be given them.

The Alleged Failure of the Elementary School

It has become the habit, particularly in some unthinking sections of the Press, to condemn the product of the elementary school by applying to it academic standards that cannot fairly be used. The stratum of the elementary school which could pass with ease the tests suggested has been increasingly removed at the age of 11 or 12 to other types of school. The residuum

has followed a course of instruction and study in formal learning under none too hopeful conditions, but possibly its activities might have been diverted with advantage into very different channels. The pupils have applied themselves, perhaps none too successfully, to the rudiments of academic study, when they would have grown more amply and generously in practical contact with materials, in constructive mechanical endeavour, or in developing some special talent in the arts.

Those who blame the elementary school for this hardly avoidable failure to perform an impossible task are commonly those who object to spending more money on education. Yet the very defects complained of are due in large measure to the reluctance to spend. Book-learning has been emphasised unduly because the provision of books and paper, and the concentration of pupils in large classes at little desks, is a cheap way of education. And even the supply of books in most elementary schools is scandalously inadequate. Practical workshops, domestic science-rooms, art-rooms, music-rooms, school-gardens, laboratories, and individual attention cost money, but they alone open the door of real education to thousands of pupils whose talents without them must be restricted and stultified. We need for the average and not particularly

intellectual adolescent new schools that will in time work out new methods and afford a freer opportunity of development. In these new schools the most fruitful activities for the average child will be studied in favourable circumstances for the first time.

Staffing and Equipment in Post-primary Schools and Departments

There is one important reason why the new schools should be officially classed as secondary at as early a date as possible. Not only would this be a recognition of the real unity of post-primary education, but it would ensure that in staffing and equipment they would approach the standard now regarded as necessary in the pre-matriculation forms of secondary schools. Ultimately it is impossible to justify any great difference in the physical conditions under which education is given to pupils of the same age. If anything, those who are less able to educate themselves need a more helpful environment and more individual attention. We cannot permanently acquiesce in a distinction between elementary and secondary education which resolves itself on analysis merely into an inferior provision for the elementary school pupil.

Hitherto this inferiority in staffing and equipment has been the distinguishing feature of the

elementary school, rather than differences in curriculum or in the ability of the teaching staff. No matter how advanced the instruction in elementary schools may be, the standard of staffing, a crucial factor in efficiency, is expected to conform to the Elementary Code and not to the Secondary Regulations. Of late years there has been a growing tendency to treat the over 11 pupils as a separate problem, and to insist that the size of their classes shall not exceed forty. Though all such protective maximum figures have been recently removed from the Elementary Code, there is little doubt that the central schools at least will continue to conform to this standard. The nature of the work done, and the emphasis on practical instruction, will render, as in the past, larger classes almost impossible. But while we welcome this approximation to secondary conditions, we must remember that thirty is the recognised maximum for secondary forms with the same age range. Even the diminishing difference is indefensible, and the official assumption of the inferiority of elementary schools continues to do infinite harm to the cause of real education.

What is true of staffing is equally true of sanitary accommodation, playing-fields, and of the square feet of floor space apportioned to each pupil in the class-room, as well as of the educational devices with which the schools are equipped. In

these details there is no reason for differentiation between pupils of the same age, no matter what type of school they are attending. The present discrimination against the elementary pupil will be removed more readily if post-primary schools are expected to conform to new regulations applicable to all of them. The standards to be set up should approximate, we suggest, to those that are now considered necessary in secondary schools.

Nor are these considerations applicable only to pupils in post-primary courses. Perhaps the most pressing of all educational problems is to secure a vastly improved physical environment for the pupils in the primary school, and in large measure the efficacy of post-primary education will depend on the humanising influences to which the pupil has been subject before he reaches that stage.

The Confusion in the Public Mind

With these alterations, and a clear recognition that all education after the age of 11 is essentially secondary education, we may expect a radical change in the public outlook toward the pupils. The tendency to divide them into sheep and goats, according as to whether they have had the luck to enter a secondary school or no, will disappear. A clearer comparison between indi-

viduals, based upon actual achievement, and recognising the essential differences between types of ability, will become possible. The public mind will no longer be distracted by misleading nomenclature.

One other confusion is likely to disappear. To-day it is too readily assumed that those who do not secure a free place in a secondary school, however unsatisfactory may be the conditions under which free places are awarded, are not fitted for continued full-time education at all. When all the arbitrary lines of demarcation have been cleared away, the real utility of further education will become apparent, and the objections to it will be considerably weakened.

The Perversion of the Free-place System

The view so commonly held that the free-place examination is a satisfactory test of ability to profit by continued education is perhaps excusable. When the free-place system was instituted, Mr. McKenna, who was then President of the Board, stated categorically in the House of Commons that the children "would only be asked to pass a qualifying examination." This aspect of it as a qualifying test is still uppermost in the public mind; but obviously, under present conditions, with the lack of secondary school places, so far from

being a merely qualifying examination, it has become a competitive test of great severity, and, with the considerable variation in the number of school places available in different parts of the country, the standard needed for success varies from district to district in a most distracting way. If we take the country as a whole, the free-place examination, as we know it, is a measure of nothing in particular, and is hardly even a criterion of ability to profit by secondary education of the usual type.

This unforeseen perversion of the free-place system has had undesirable reactions upon the elementary school. A qualifying test, which a reasonable proportion of the pupils in every area might be expected to pass, would not disturb its normal working. The knowledge that only a small number of the best pupils may hope for success in a highly competitive encounter introduces exactly the element that ought to be avoided. Mr. Bertrand Russell has well described this element, and has stated the objections to which any competitive test must be open.

"The system of scholarships obtained by competition," he says, "though better than nothing, is objectionable from many points of view. It introduces the competitive spirit into the work of the very young; it makes them regard knowledge from the standpoint of what is useful

in examinations rather than in the light of its own intrinsic interest or importance; it places a premium on that sort of ability which is displayed precociously in glib answers to set questions rather than upon the kind that broods on difficulties and remains for a time rather dumb. What is perhaps worse than any of these defects is the tendency to cause overwork in youth, leading to lack of vigour and interest when manhood has been reached. It can hardly be doubted that by this cause, at present, many fine minds have had their edges blunted and their keenness destroyed."[1]

The pupils in many elementary schools are now subject to these disabilities, and others are exempt only because their teachers think that in the circumstances they are unlikely to gain a free place or to take it up if they are successful. Even in London there are elementary schools which produce no candidates for free places; there are many from which they are seldom or never obtained. The only satisfactory system would be one which would provide for an almost general transfer, and which would thus make the examination a qualifying one in a real sense for the first time. Its subsidiary aim should be to distinguish different types of ability, so that the pupils might proceed to secondary schools

[1] Bertrand Russell, *Roads to Freedom*, p. 174.

suited in every way to their capacities and their interests.

Overlapping Authorities

Meanwhile, the limitation of the secondary status to one type of curriculum and one set of physical conditions has the effect of emphasising certain administrative anomalies. Of these the most outstanding lies in the position of the Part III authority, responsible only for elementary education; 129 boroughs and 44 urban districts in England and Wales, with a population of 6,091,166, and with 867,183 pupils in their schools, possess only this limited power. In one English county alone there are twenty-seven different authorities for elementary education.

One result of this arrangement is that the Part III authority has no effective control over the extent to which secondary education is provided in its area. Nor has it more than an advisory voice in the supply of free places, or in the transfer and general promotion of its pupils. When they enter a recognised secondary school, they automatically come under the control of another authority.

Many Part III authorities are active in extending and developing their own system of post-primary schools and departments, but, whatever efforts they make to provide advanced instruction

from 11 to 16, and however closely such instruction may approximate in type to that given in recognised secondary schools, it is difficult for it to be lifted out of the elementary category, because it is devised and administered by a body which has only elementary powers.

In such areas no authority is in a position to consider the problem of post-primary education as a whole. Each authority is responsible for a part of it, and an indefinite and fluctuating part which alters with the policy of the other. If a county authority were to initiate a determined programme of secondary development, the position of the central schools and departments set up by the boroughs and urban districts within its area might be radically altered. Their adaptation to secondary uses would not be easy, because it would involve their transference to a different ownership and control.

In education unity of control within a single area is indispensable to any ordered progress, and if a co-ordinated post-primary system is ever to be created it must involve a readjustment of administrative boundaries, and the vesting of all power within them in a single authority.

The Low Leaving Age

When these vital administrative defects have been faced, and as schools of the new type become

common, the country will be in a better position to deal with its fundamental educational problem of what is to be done with that 70 per cent. of all its young people between 14 and 16 whose welfare is now left almost entirely to chance.

Certain social agencies, among which we may mention the churches, clubs and settlements, the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, the various woodcraft organisations, and the Co-operative Movement, have done something to provide educational and recreational facilities for a number of boys and girls who would otherwise be quite neglected. The exact extent of this voluntary effort cannot be estimated. Some of it is deliberately designed to attract the young person leaving school. In other instances the mere fact of leaving school, with the new interests and sense of personal independence that employment brings, produces a breach with the voluntary organisation with which the young person has associated in his school-days. The boy leaves the day school, and at the same time, or soon after, begins to neglect the Sunday School, the Scouts, or the Co-operative Circle.

Nor will even the most willing helper in these spheres of social endeavour claim for them that they fill completely the real needs of the young worker. At the best they are but partially efficient as educational agencies, employing but

a small fraction of their members' time, officered by those who devote unstinting service but often untrained enthusiasm to the care of young and ardent humanity, and who often have to struggle very ineffectively against financial and other disabilities, and the rival attraction of the streets. They have been helped in the past, and might be helped even more, by the Juvenile Organisations Committee of the Board of Education. But those who are keenest in this commendable work, and who are consequently most in touch with adolescent life, are precisely those who claim most urgently that the nation must not surrender its control at 14, but that it should deliberately, and as a matter of policy, constrain its young people to that corporate life and active responsibility which is the essence of schooling, and which the voluntary organisations try so hard to supply.

The Need for Vocational Instruction

As the world of work opens to young people, another influence of great importance begins to operate. This is the flourishing system of commercial colleges and correspondence courses designed to render them competent in the technical side of their work, and to increase their earning capacity. In the main, these efficiently conducted institutions are rigidly vocational, and

the cultural aspects of training are comparatively neglected; but incidentally they are doing work of great educational value. We cannot resist the conclusion that their success is due to the fact that the nation has neglected these aspects of training. In the large towns there are often evening classes which offer the same sort of curriculum, but they are usually conducted by part-time teachers who consider it but as a subsidiary part of their work. Technical institutes, and in London the City of London College and the various polytechnics, offer day courses in commercial subjects; but, on the whole, the national provision remains fragmentary.

Even if modern schools were more commonly established and utilised, they would not offer, and they ought not to offer, more than, in the last two years of the course, a preliminary introduction to commercial or industrial training. The need for day courses to which the pupils would transfer on leaving school would remain. The failure to link up the day schools with the institutions for technical and commercial training which should provide the next stage is a defect which is very apparent to those who think that education should be as fully as possible a preparation for life.

A very large proportion of young people leaving school are untouched by any of these agencies.

A number of writers have dealt at different times with the calamitous effect of premature entry into industry, and of the casual employment and spasmodic unemployment that too often attends it. The only effective remedy is an extension of the period of compulsory attendance at the earliest possible moment.

Finance

It is often objected to those who propose large measures of reform that they do not appear to have counted the cost. The reforms for which we plead will be costly; it would be impossible for us to produce an estimate of the cost of changes which cannot be carried out in a moment, or without much careful and continuous re-organisation. Such an estimate could be little more than a speculative calculation which would satisfy neither ourselves nor anyone else. Our position in this matter is precisely the same as the position of those who plead for the adequate organisation of other essential services. We hold that unless the nation will set its hand to the reforms which we support, or something better, it will not flourish, and it will not deserve to flourish. More than that, it will not be safe.

CHAPTER IX
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The Historical Precedents

The history of English education shows us that compulsion to attend school has followed closely upon the general development of educational facilities. The first measure, Mundella's Act of 1880, succeeded naturally upon establishment everywhere either of School Boards or of School Attendance Committees. It was not possible to insist on attendance, even to the age of 10, until schools had been provided, and until administrative inducements, and the movement of popular opinion, had already secured that many of the pupils did in fact attend until that age, and a number of them until they were still older.

For thirteen years no further advance was made, and then the period of compulsion was extended by one year only. Six years later it was found possible to add yet another year to the school life. Almost at the same time, the principle of differentiating between local areas was introduced, and certain of the more progressive School Boards, which had pushed forward

the provision and equipment of schools, and which were supported by their constituents in their desire for a stricter measure of compulsion, were enabled by law to extend the age to 14.

By 1918 this had become the usual leaving age, though it was still subject to special exceptions in individual instances, when a definite standard of attainment had been reached by the pupil before 14, or where, as in the textile areas, the claims of industry were insistent, and the "half-time" system prevailed.

The possibility of providing schools and teachers who will satisfy the standards of qualification regarded as necessary at the time, the setting up of effective machinery to apply the compulsion, and the development of a public opinion sufficiently advanced to sanction the change, are valuable aids to compulsion; but, in practice, reform has never waited for all the conditions to be supplied.

Of these conditions public opinion is particularly important, as was shown by the relatively unsuccessful attempt to enforce part-time attendance in day continuation schools in London. It seems that popular opinion, which in this matter is largely the opinion of the parents, will only acquiesce in an extension of compulsion when they feel that the first two conditions can be fulfilled, and that the children retained at school

are sure of proper education and attention, which will fit them better to take their place in the battle of life. Parents, in fact, are asked to make a definite and calculable sacrifice, and they are only willing to do this in return for the certainty of commensurate gains to their children.

The rigours of compulsion may be modified by exemptions in cases of special hardship, so that the difficulties of the poorest may be met by the provision of maintenance grants.

The Position To-day

Accommodation.—At this point it will be well to inquire to what extent the position at the present time gives us hope of again raising the school age. It would be useless to pretend that all obstacles to legislation have been entirely removed. Our first condition was that there should be a provision of suitably equipped schools for the pupils retained by change in the law. This condition has obviously not yet been satisfied.

Yet, though our statistical survey has shown that the general application of full-time schooling to the age of 16 would bring 1,000,000 additional pupils into the schools, the recognised accommodation in public elementary schools in England and Wales in 1922–3 exceeded the average number of pupils on the register by no less than

1,336,266, and the average number of pupils in actual attendance by 1,951,965. The figures would suggest that the physical difficulties of housing the older pupils are not an insuperable barrier to raising the school age.

But the problem is not so simple as this. In the first place, the excess of accommodation is unevenly distributed over the country, and is accounted for in some areas by the fall in the population of the agricultural districts, which, in many places, brings the attendance figures for the village school lower year by year. In town areas it is still not difficult to discover over-crowded elementary schools, though the fall in the birth-rate and transfer to secondary and central schools has often reduced the numbers in the upper standards.

A second factor is that the standards upon which the figures of accommodation are based are far too low. Accommodation is calculated upon the aggregate amount of floor-space, irrespective of whether this floor-space is cold, dark, or damp, or otherwise unsuitable for school use, or of whether the necessary organisation of the school in properly graded classes permits it to be utilised. Thus Article 19 of the Code has been frequently infringed, and large classes have been forced into rooms far too small for them, although the nominal accommodation of the school has

been in excess of the number of pupils actually in attendance. Further, the amount of floor-space allotted to each pupil in the calculation is now generally admitted to be inadequate, being below the amount required on the Continent, and about one-half of what is usual in America. This is in itself a danger to health.

Moreover, a considerable reduction in the maximum size of classes is necessary if elementary education is to be made effective. This is the view, not only of teachers, but of all those who realise what the present conditions involve. It is obvious that any large change in the regulations that permit sixty children in a class will involve considerable structural alterations in large numbers of schools. The difficulties that in London have attended the operation of the "40–48" scheme, work on which has been undertaken over a number of years, are sufficient evidence that nominal accommodation calculated on aggregate floor-space means little in the practical working of the school.

So long as the attention of the Board has still to be called, as a recent report points out, to "old-fashioned stepped class-rooms where free movement is impossible, class-rooms so monstrous in size that two or more classes must be taught in one room, no hall for assembly, no head teacher's room or staff-room, no kind of facilities for

medical inspection, which must take place in the draughty passage or hall, in the cloak-room, or where it can; out-of-date and inadequate sanitary accommodation, representing only one-half the Board's standard; defective water supply, or none at all; faulty ventilation, bad lighting, insufficient heating in winter, no means of drying clothes; desks of a pattern long since condemned by medical opinion, seats much too small for growing boys and girls; no sleeping appliances for infants; playgrounds so cramped and ill-paved that games of any kind are impossible; buildings in every stage of dirt and disrepair,"[1] it would be absurd to suggest that real accommodation, effectively usable, is, except in certain schools and in special areas, in advance of the present claims upon it. So bad are the hygienic conditions in many schools that the report of the departmental committee on the training of teachers recognises that we have here one of the main obstacles to the recruitment to the teaching profession.

The Board itself recognises this, and has stated, not only that the subject shall receive fuller attention, but that the existence of misleading nominal figures is a real embarrassment to administration.[2]

[1] *Nursery School to University*, p. 60.

[2] Report of Board of Education for 1923–4, pp. 56–7.

Equipment

Even where there is an excess of accommodation, it is necessary to consider its suitability to the education of older children, the new purpose to which it is desired to apply it. Nor is the evidence here very encouraging. It is clear that in many areas the elementary schools as a whole are unfitted in regard to equipment to undertake the education of pupils over 11. Too often they are deficient in opportunity both for practical handicraft and for physical exercise.

Admittedly much progress has been made in recent years in the effort to remedy omissions of structure and equipment, and to supplement the ordinary working of the schools by the establishment of handicraft or domestic science centres, but the need for further and more comprehensive developments is urgent. Too often the programme, even of progressive authorities, has been curtailed by the desire for economy. In one area, for example, plans were made for supplying practical workrooms to the schools in alphabetical order. The refusal to incur even this most necessary expenditure caused the work not to proceed beyond the letter C, with the result that most of the schools are left with their admitted deficiencies.

The effect of this calamitous parsimony is felt

by thousands of pupils throughout the country who are retained in unsuitable schools. The fact that proper courses are not available for them is more and more widely recognised, and thus the educational system itself is brought into contempt. Much of the newspaper criticism of the attainment and outlook of children who leave the elementary school is due to this failure to provide proper courses, but, worst of all, the parents are dissatisfied, and for this reason are sometimes reluctant to continue the education of their children beyond the compulsory age.

We have suggested that the provision of suitable schools, equipped with the latest devices for practical work, with much of their curriculum having a real bearing upon the after-school interests of the pupils, and able to enlist the confidence of the parents, would assist a raising of the school age. It is the tragedy of the economy campaign that it has prevented normal development and advance, and has thus created difficulties that otherwise would not have arisen. Any schemes for improving education in the upper ranges of the elementary school would naturally have placed emphasis upon those very aspects of school work which become even more valuable after the age of 14, and would thus have given an impetus to the movement for raising the school age. Any really far-reaching scheme

would have provided accommodation in excess of present requirements, and would have facilitated the subsequent inclusion of older pupils. To some extent this has actually occurred in certain areas, but the prospects of legislation are not so happy as they would have been but for the intervention of these years of restriction and economy.

Teachers

If we examine the problem of the supply of teachers, the same factors confront us. Since the war the efforts of the nation should have been devoted to augmenting the supply, in readiness for some generous scheme for dealing with the adolescents. Instead of this, a deliberate policy of restricting entry to training colleges has been, and is still, operating, and the difficulty of staffing new schools, with pupils above the present age, would be no small one. Energetic action during the next few years would remove this obstacle to progress, and the attempt to establish day continuation schools and to staff them has shown that there are reserves of well-educated men and women, particularly of those apt in the arts and crafts, who would undertake a course of training in teaching, and who could welcome an opportunity of joining the educational service.

If the country set itself determinedly to provide

for the future the teachers could be found almost as quickly as the schools could be built. All depends on the energy with which the resources of the nation are applied to the task of organisation. In these matters we must plead for a change in policy, and for a well-considered attempt to anticipate the needs of the next ten years.

Public Opinion

If the age is to be raised, the opinion of the public, and particularly of the parents, must always be the determining factor. If, therefore, the step is proved to be to the national advantage no means must be neglected of convincing public opinion, and of enlisting a large body of it on the side of change. The provision in increasing measure of good schools and attractive courses is the most obvious means of effecting this end. Our inquiry seems to show that where such schools have been established the tendency, general everywhere, towards voluntary attendance after 14 is fortified.

Another means of meeting one of the practical difficulties is to provide maintenance allowances, where necessary. At present the system of maintenance, even for central school pupils, is poorly developed, and for those who wish to remain at an ordinary elementary school it is almost non-existent. But where such main-

tenance allowances in central schools have been available, they have proved a potent factor in lengthening the school life.

Even in their absence, the bettering of buildings and equipment and the broadening of the curriculum have, in some areas, proved conclusively that the schools may be made attractive to young people, and that they may win the regard of the parents. So true is this that if all the schools were of a good standard it is possible that the number of maintenance allowances needed would be much less than is commonly supposed. Further, the importance of education is being realised more and more, and intelligent parents, especially those who are not pressed too heavily financially, are becoming more reluctant to withdraw their children. This is a special case of improved education creating a demand for further advance. We have seen that the proportion of pupils remaining after their fourteenth birthday has been increasing, and that it has now reached over one-quarter of the total number. The period for which they stay is not ascertainable, and may not be long, but the growing tendency to stay cannot be denied. The fact is significant, and gives hope that the raising of the school-age, when it comes, will be supported by a larger volume of popular opinion than is generally supposed.

Differences between Areas

We have noted that the tendency to remain at school varies in different areas. We must suppose that similarly the proposal to raise the school age will receive in different areas a variable measure of approval. It is paradoxical that while working-class organisations are foremost in urging the necessity of this measure, industrial districts have so far given us the least hope of anything being done. In such areas the actual age of school leaving is invariably lower than elsewhere, and significantly it is here that the opposition to compulsory day continuation schools was most pronounced. Yet this is not surprising. The economic is here the principal, if not the sole motive, and when the pupil's school life is prolonged it almost invariably involves a heavy sacrifice by the parent. Without doubt in such areas any further measure of compulsion must involve some form of compensating subsidy to the family, in the form of maintenance, or by the development of family allowances.

Yet the differences existing between areas must be recognised, and the law already permits the more progressive ones to exercise, with the consent of the Board, the option of raising the age of leaving to 15. Unfortunately, in the eight years since the passing of the Fisher Act

only two authorities, East Suffolk and Carnarvon, have approved by-laws to this effect. What has been done here may be done elsewhere, and it will be well to consider what success has attended the change in East Suffolk. In March 1927 the County Borough of Plymouth resolved to follow the examples of these pioneer authorities, and is forming a by-law that will take effect in September of this year. Cornwall must now be added to the list.

The Example of East Suffolk

In 1919, directly following the Fisher Act, the East Suffolk Education Committee held about forty meetings in different parts of the area, setting forth the scheme for improving education locally. At these meetings the secretary laid particular stress on the need for raising the school age. With remarkable unanimity the meetings passed resolutions asking the authority to raise the age to 15, subject to the condition that children obtaining beneficial employment after 14 years of age should be allowed to take up such employment. Since East Suffolk is largely a rural area, with a falling population, the available accommodation largely exceeded the actual attendance. Although the accommodation was sometimes not of the best character, it was comparatively easy for the authority to adopt

the new by-law, which, on the whole, is working most satisfactorily.

As this is an agricultural area the wages of the parents are low, ranging from 29*s*. to 35*s*. weekly. It is thus difficult for the authority, in the absence of maintenance allowances, to refuse applications from those who wish to enter employment, but each case is separately and carefully considered, first by a local committee and the education officers, and subsequently by a sub-committee of the authority itself. The power given to the authority by the by-law is valuable, in that it permits it to raise an absolute bar to early entry into "blind-alley" occupations. The social results of this are so important that it is extraordinary that the same device has not been adopted elsewhere. One reason is that the Board of Education has perhaps paid too much attention to the difficulties created in schools by a raising of the age which is only partially enforced, so that at Carlisle and elsewhere it has refused its sanction to similar schemes. We suggest that the real motive behind this refusal is one of economy, and we believe that the objections raised by the Board to discretionary compulsion should be removed, and the way thus paved for a more thorough application of the principle of compulsion at a later date.

For it must be pointed out that, valuable as is

independent action on the part of individual authorities, it is utopian to hope that it can solve the problem. In densely populated areas where children attending schools of different authorities live in close proximity to each other, it is not possible for one authority to require them to attend school till 15, while neighbouring authorities release them from attendance at 14. If, therefore, any largely increased number of children are to continue their education to 15, that result will only be achieved by legislation. Provided that authorities are given a reasonable time in which to adapt their arrangements to the change, in the manner proposed by the Consultative Committee, no insuperable difficulties, we think, will be found in carrying it into effect.

CHAPTER X

THE REPORT OF THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE

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WHILE our present investigation was in progress, the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education, under the chairmanship of Sir W. H. Hadow, C.B.E., was working at the same problem, and its Report, entitled "The Education of the Adolescent," has recently been issued. This is a document which ought to have a profound effect on educational progress, and it is in all ways worthy to take its place in that long series of official investigations which have suggested and preceded fundamental changes in the legislative and administrative system. No small part of our object will have been attained if we succeed in drawing public attention to its recommendations, and thus do a little to secure their consideration and adoption. Too often in our educational history reports of equal value and authority have remained for some years neglected, until time and the pressure of circumstances have brought them to an incomplete fruition. The suggestions of the Consultative Committee must not be allowed to suffer this fate; the need for

reform is too urgent, and the opportunity is clear. Nevertheless, the inertia of administrative authorities will be most readily overcome by the pressure and influence of an enlightened public opinion, and it is in the hope of doing something to arouse public opinion that our own survey of the questions at issue is presented.

The Report recommends that the leaving age should be raised to 15 at the beginning of the school year, 1932,[1] and that legislation to this end should be passed at once, so that local education authorities shall have ample time to prepare for their new obligations. Surely this proposal, in the light of the history of the last few years, was unexpectedly moderate. In 1918 the local authorities were given the option of raising the school age on their own initiative, and many might have done so if they had not been dissuaded by the urgent appeals from the Board to restrict expenditure in every possible way. Indeed, the Carlisle authority proposed, in connection with its reorganisation scheme, to retain at school all those who did not secure appropriate employment; but it was emphatically discouraged by the Board. The immediate effect of a change in the law, making action imperative in five years' time, would be to induce certain authorities to

[1] Recently the Association of Education Committees has agreed that this could be done by 1933.

exercise the permissive powers that they already possess.

We have given our reasons for believing that a general raising of the school age, even by one year, would be more efficacious, and a better preventive of social waste, than any alternative scheme of part-time day continued education. The Hadow Report bears out our suggestion that the declining school population, due to the progressive fall in the birth-rate, has, in many areas, so relieved the problems of staff and accommodation that the raising of the school age has become a comparatively easy matter. As we have pointed out, not all the available accommodation is suitable for older children, but neither is all of it suitable for the pupils over the age of 11 who at present occupy it. A reorganisation of schools, and a modernisation of their premises, will be necessary in any event, and while this is taking place it will be both easy and advantageous to arrange the new senior schools for the reception of four complete age-groups.

The Consultative Committee declares emphatically that a thorough reorganisation of schools is necessary, and urges that all normal children should pass, wherever possible, about the age of 11, to new schools with varied curricula in which their differing abilities may be properly recognised, and the needs of their differing

interests supplied. In the Report the steps that have been so far taken towards this end in certain areas are discussed, but no particular type of scheme is definitely recommended, since it is recognised that no one scheme will be equally suitable for all districts. Our own prepossession for urban areas is in favour of schools of the selective type, and we prefer the practice of Leicester and Nottingham to the large non-selective schools with parallel classes established in Carlisle. The typical county area will be compelled to adopt a variety of arrangements, depending very largely for their character on the density of the school population in different districts. In Cornwall, for example, the area scheme under the 1918 Act suggested almost every conceivable kind of organisation, the independent senior school drawing its pupils from the schools around, the senior department similarly recruited, and the organised " higher top."

The Report insists that such schemes, while immensely valuable in themselves, will largely fail in their purpose if it is not generally recognised by the public and the parents that the education given in the new schools is definitely secondary in kind. The Regulations for Secondary Schools assume that certain minimum conditions of staffing accommodation and equipment are necessary for the proper education of pupils

over 11. There is no reason why any school educating pupils of the same age range should be hampered by inferior conditions. The size of classes or study groups must be equally small wherever efficient practical or laboratory work is to be undertaken, and proper facilities for organised exercises and games are as necessary to one child of 12 as to another. Proper recognition of these fundamental facts would be easier if the education of all pupils over the age of 11 came within the purview of the secondary section of the Board of Education. Further, by this redistribution the social distinctions that attend the present overlapping of control would be eliminated from the system.

The Report, therefore, recommends that primary education should be regarded as ending at about the age of 11, and that a universal system of post-primary education should then begin—a conclusion with which we entirely agree. That the realities of the new situation are to be made clear to the public mind, and its component parts may be unmistakably distinguished, the Committee suggests that a new nomenclature will be needed. Secondary schools of the present type, with a predominantly literary or scientific curriculum, should be known as Grammar Schools, and a term of considerable antiquity and historical interest will regain something of its old

importance. The new secondary schools, with a four-year course, and a realistic or practical trend in the last two years, should be known as Modern Schools, while classes providing secondary education in the upper ranges of an ordinary elementary school should be called Senior Classes.

The wholesale transfer of pupils under this scheme from the elementary to the secondary section of the Board will create considerable difficulties if the law with respect to the control of Part II and Part III authorities over secondary and elementary education respectively is not amended. The Consultative Committee deals with this problem in a tentative way, suggesting in the first place closer co-operation between such authorities; secondly, the abolition of the small Part III authority, and the transfer of Part II powers to the larger Part III authorities that would remain, and perhaps ultimately the creation of new provincial authorities in which the present bodies might be merged. No really co-ordinated system of education is possible unless a single authority is responsible for all forms of education in a single area, but the most efficient size for such an area has never been determined. Certainly this question should be thoroughly investigated by a committee, either the Consultative Committee itself, or a committee set up for this purpose with instructions to report

among other things on any increase of efficiency and avoidance of waste that might result from altered boundaries, on the financial effect to the ratepayers of a redistribution, and on any difficulties that local patriotism might present to a transfer of control.

For the rest, the Hadow Report considers in some detail the vexed question of the curriculum proper to the modern school, a question on which it is possible to lay down certain fundamental principles, but which will only be solved by years of work and experiment within the schools themselves, due regard always being given to the local industrial outlook and the predominant interests of the local people.

However carefully the curricula of the different types of schools may be arranged, and however carefully the selection of pupils may be conducted, some mistakes and maladjustments will be inevitable. It will be necessary therefore to provide for the easy transference of pupils from one type of school to another. Elasticity here will be of the utmost benefit to the proper working of the system.

With the suggestion that the modern schools equally with the grammar schools should have a formal leaving examination, conducted by joint boards which would include representatives of the universities, the authorities, and the teachers,

we have little concern. Opinion on our committee is divided. We are agreed, however, that if such an examination is instituted for modern schools it should be so framed as to give the utmost freedom for experiment in the curriculum, both in matter and in the manner of treatment. The recommendation of the Consultative Committee that any such leaving examination should be wholly optional, both to the school and to the individual pupil, should in any case not be disregarded.

We wish to commend the conclusions of the Consultative Committee to everyone, whatever his or her prepossessions may be, who really desires the progressive improvement of our educational system.

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